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EDITORIAL

THREE CHAPTERS FROM THE LIFE OF CONRAD GREBEL BY H. S. BENDER APPEARED in the REVIEW in 1936. In 1938 a discussion of Grebel's theology by the same author was published. It had been hoped that the full biography of Grebel would be published by this time, but delay in its appearance has led the editors of the REVIEW to publish one more chapter, this time an account of Grebel's conversion and of that period of his life (1522-23) in which he was a follower of Zwingli. The full-length biography of Grebel will appear this fall as one of the series, *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History.*

PERSONAL DOCUMENTS SUCH AS DIARIES AND REMINISCENCES HAVE A FRESHness and immediacy which second-hand accounts can never have. For this reason they have a literary quality which is unique, but they also give insight and interpretative values which make them social documents of more than ordinary value. The REVIEW is fortunate to be able to present the girlhood reminiscences of a Mennonite grandmother (still living) in which she relates interestingly the life of a Mennonite village in Russia eighty years ago, as well as of the momentous migration across the ocean to America and the settlement in the newly opened prairies of the west.

IN THE ARTICLE, "AN AMISH MINISTER'S MANUAL," PROFESSOR UMBLE CONTINues his studies in Amish church life by editing and translating what is probably the most important Amish church document extant. It is the manual of instructions for Amish ministers in performing the ceremonies of the church, which has been in use for over two centuries and which has been preserved in various manuscript versions. The Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College is the fortunate possessor of a number of copies of this ancient document.

WITH THE PUBLICATION OF TWO LETTERS BY JACOB HUTTER, WRITTEN IN 1535, the publication of important unpublished sixteenth century Hutterian letters by Dr. A. J. F. Zieglschmid which was begun in the January issue is completed. The REVIEW regrets that limitations of space prevent publication at this time of other Hutterian letters in the possession of Dr. Zieglschmid, and hopes that a complete edition of all extant unpublished Hutterian letters, numbering at least seventy, may become possible through assistance from some learned foundation or interested friends. Dr. Robert Friedmann, formerly of Vienna, but now of Goshen, Indiana, who was commissioned by the "Verein für Reformationsgeschichte" to prepare an edition of Hutterian letters for that society's series of "Täuferakten," has also prepared a large number of letters for publication. If no complete edition of Hutterian letters is possible the REVIEW hopes at some future time to be able to publish additional selected letters as space permits.

THE
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Review

Vol. XV No. 2

CONRAD GREBEL AS A ZWINGLIAN 1522-1523[1]

HAROLD S. BENDER

[The biography of Grebel up to his conversion is found in the REVIEW for January, April and July, 1936].

The year 1522 marked an epoch for Conrad Grebel which was to lead to a transformation of his entire life. On the surface at first there was nothing to show this. After the marriage in February he and his wife lived with his parents in the family home, at least until the end of 1523.[2] The tension between the older people and the young couple was rather serious, but it could not be avoided, for the young husband had no money and no occupation, and the parents' opposition to the marriage was intense. Conrad's mother was irreconcilable. "Against me she is godless and against my wife she

1. Sources for this period are chiefly ten letters of Grebel to Vadian, all in the *Vadianische Briefsammlung*. The absence of letters in the periods of February to November, 1522, and January to June, 1523, is conspicuous. Four letters were written in the short period between November 21 and December 29, 1522, and six letters between June 17 and September 6, 1523. The letter dated Dec. 25, 1524, I have placed in 1522; the month and day, Dec. 25, also seem questionable to me, but cannot be more definitely determined.

2. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 451.

rages," Conrad had to write to Vadian as late as the end of 1522.[3] In November, 1522, the first child was born, a son named Theophil; and in August of the following year the second child came, also a son, Josua.[4] The family lived in great poverty. Again and again Conrad complained about the unbearable situation. He had to make debts, which oppressed him like a tyrant.[5] "May Plutus damn me if I have an obol," he wrote half humorously at the end of 1522.[6] In August, 1523, he wrote that he was altogether dependent upon strangers, for his father had quite abandoned him. He was attempting to secure a small income by taking on some pupils in Greek.[7] His father had not carried out the financial agreement entered into at the time of the marriage, and the considerable sum which he owed his son was never paid. The mother was still less inclined to help.[8] Conrad's health on the other hand seems to have improved somewhat in contrast to earlier times, although he still had to take his bed occasionally.[9]

The outward circumstances, as described above, remained much the same as before, poverty, poor health, conflict in the family, no secure position in life,—but now it is an altogether different man who faces the outward circumstances of life. Now, instead of pouring out a doleful and despairing complaint in his letters, Conrad speaks of trust in God and of a desire to learn wisdom and patience. He stands as a man and manfully bears his burdens. No longer is life for him a dark road, it is a battleground. Courageously and hopefully he goes about the duties of his daily life. How is this new attitude toward life to be explained?

The explanation is that a change has come in the inner life of Conrad Grebel, a renewal; it may well be called a conversion. An entirely new tone rings in the letters which reappear after a nine months' silence. The new tone is that of a believing Christian. Gone

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3. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 458. "Mater mea satis impia in me, in coniugem plus nimio rabida est."

4. For sources for the birth dates of the children see *M. Q. R.*, X, 21-22.

5. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *loc. cit.*

6. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 410.

7. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 11, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 33. "Interim tamen habe, mihi spei adeo nihil esse reliqui in parente, ut ab alienissimis potius quam ab ipso pendeam . . . . Propter discipulos meos paucis tecum ago."

8. Statement made in the trial of Jakob Grebel, Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 1050, p. 495.

9. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 25, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* VII, 18; July 28, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 29; Sept. 6, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* II, 446.

is the humanist of former days whose speech was full of gods and goddesses, who delighted in the ancient Greek and Latin writers and filled his letters with quotations from them. "Fortuna," dame fortune, is also gone. It is true that a few remnants of the old character may still be found in his letters, but not for long. And in place of the old humanistic exuberance of style we find moderation, simplicity, and objectivity. The letters, no longer the lengthy epistles that they once were, but now short and to the point, express the spirit of the Bible. In every letter quotations or expressions from the Scriptures are to be found, which can be accounted for only on the basis of regular and diligent Bible study. The fact that these quotations are not for the most part directly cited, but rather consist of a "Biblical mode of speaking" proves still further that the writer has not only taken on the outer form of the Scriptures but has made its spiritual content his own inner possession. Grebel's thinking becomes Biblical. His children receive Christian or Biblical names, "Theophil" and "Josua," and when the relatives indicate their displeasure at such names, Conrad feels that their criticism is a sign of a "worldly attitude." The greeting at the close of the letters is now "in Christ," and is frequently associated with a promise to pray for his friends and with a request for their prayers.[10]

Furthermore the subjects dealt with are now quite different from the themes of the earlier letters. The names of Zwingli, Luther, Melanchthon, and Jakob Strauss together with their writings now appear. The ethical and religious questions of the day demand a stand and Conrad Grebel is ready to take his stand. He discusses the tithes question, the incredible attitude of the enemies of the gospel in St. Gall, the matter of the nuns in Zurich, the steadfastness of the pastors in St. Gall, the spirit in which a pastor is to perform his duty. He has an open eye for religious conditions in the lives of his friends and neighbors as well as in his own life. His mother must experience a change in life through the new birth, else he despairs of her salvation.[11] He prays that his faith may be strengthened and

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10. At the close of the letters of Nov. 21 and Dec. 1, 1522 he uses the greeting "vale perquam evangelicissime". "Vale in Christo" or "valete in Christo" appears in the letters of July 28 and Aug. 11, 1523. Other letters contain Christian greetings. Grebel to Vadian, July 28, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 30. "Precare apud Christum, ut firmam in eum fiduciam geram. Idem ego quoque, ut tibi accidat, precabor".

11. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 458. "Timeo de eius salute, ni Christum induat et nova fiat spiritu divino renata creatura."

that he may be able to bear his suffering patiently.[12] He suffers within as he hears of the instability of pastor Burgauer in St. Gall,[13] and he rejoices to hear of the courage of the assistant pastor Juflius of the same city, for whom he prays that God may give him the freedom and the grace of Paul.[14]

A new spirit burns in Grebel's soul, constraining him to a full dedication of his strength and personality to active service; it is "the zeal of his Father's House." He is ready to fight for the gospel, to enter the lists against the enemies of God and His cause. Although he realizes that he himself is not altogether ready for immediate participation in the conflict, he does not understand why others do not launch out in the attack. He has a new standard by which to judge men and their deeds, namely, the holy, inspired Word of God.[15] The writings he reads are now analyzed as to whether they are evangelical and Christian, and men are to be judged according to whether their dealings will stand the test of the righteousness of the gospel. Such righteousness for instance is to be demanded of the Zurich council.[16] Lorenz Hochrütiner dare not be condemned, for he has not acted contrary to the Scriptures.[17] Those who do not live according to the gospel are to be considered as "the world." And because Christ is the head of his church, such Christians who do not deal with their fellow men in love according to the spirit of Christ are not to be permitted to come to the table of the Lord.[18]

In addition to all this Conrad Grebel has found a new source of joy, a joy which he may have in the midst of external tribulation: it is joy in the success and progress of the gospel. Great is his gratitude for the rediscovery of the lost truth. He rejoices at each victory of the Word of God over the enemies and powers of darkness.

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12. See note 10 above; also Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 11, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 33. "Atque utinam a deo penderem pendeamque, sed ubi, per ignem aliquem succendente volenteque ipso, patientia animam meam hanc, multis expositam et agitabilem procellis, possidere didicero."

13. Grebel to Vadian, June 17, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 19.

14. Grebel to Vadian, Aug. 11, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 32. "Pater noster coelestis faxit, ut incolumem diu habeatis Iuflium isque ministerium suum (quod facit) Paulina libertate et gratia in diem usque extremum ipsi pertractet".

15. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 451, where Grebel uses the Greek words: "en theopneustois tois grammasi."

16. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 26. The matter involved was the question of tithes.

17. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 12, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 46.

18. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 459. "Atque istud in limine esse tempus incipit, quo plerique non fraterne remissis aliorum peccatis corpus Christi indigne et ad iudicium manducamus".

Under the leadership of God the old light of truth is again shining forth with all the glory of the gospel and is lighting up in brilliance the entire world. The word of the gospel has won a glorious victory over the corrupt and superstitious church of the bishops; and thus it shall ever be.[19]

Without a fundamental conversion, without a deep religious renewal, such a transformation in the life of Conrad Grebel as has been described above is wholly inexplicable. The external circumstances of his life continued to be most unfavorable. No stimulus to such a change came from his family or from the narrower circle of his friends. His life hitherto had not been one of piety or of zealous seeking after God. On the contrary, he had not shrunk from indulging in immoral practices. Even the humanistic morality of an Erasmus with its quiet, self-controlled and lofty ideal of living had not touched him, for he had not the Erasmus nature, but was rather a temperamental young fellow of a quite different disposition, and furthermore he had apparently never had any close contact with the Erasmian spirit.

Conrad Grebel must have experienced a genuine transformation through faith in Christ. By the grace of God he was redeemed and made free from his own inner conflicts, from his old selfish and suffering life. He had found the salvation which he sought for his mother; "by the spirit of God he was born again, he had become a new creature, he had put on Christ."[20] From henceforth his life was dedicated to a new master, to Christ, the head of the church[21] whom he now desired to serve as a faithful and devoted follower. He desires that Christians should pray for him that by the grace of God he may receive "the office of a minister."[22] The new spirit burns in his soul, he desires to express it not through words but through deeds. That these manifestations of the new spirit that was in him were not idle words but deep convictions capable of bearing fruit, is amply demonstrated by the record of the four remaining years of Grebel's

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19. Grebel's poem at the end of "Apologeticus archeteles" of Zwingli, *Zwingli Werke* I, 327, contains the thought of this paragraph.

20. See note 11 above for the expressions.

21. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *op. cit.* 452. "Salvebis plurimum episcopum cum universa ecclesia quae Christi capitis per evangelium graciae est."

22. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *op. cit.* 452. "Atque utinam gratia dei omnes pro me orent et ministerium hoc triumphaturus serio accipiam. Nihil addo, quia nulla plaustra etiam verborum cognoscendum animum hunc meum facto olim periculo depingere possent."

life. His devotion to his convictions led him through much tribulation to the place where he had to sacrifice house and home, family, profession, name, indeed everything for the sake of the cause to which he had dedicated himself. As early as October, 1524, he had the bitter experience that not one of his entire family and relatives understood him or supported him, but he accustomed himself to opposition and learned to find even in tribulation the blessing of Christ.[23]

The key to the explanation of the change in Grebel is easy to find. The source of his renewal was not in the past, not in his earlier humanistic training, for the forces which brought the renewal came out of the present. Grebel had heard the Word of God in the preaching of Zwingli; he had found it in Bible study with Zwingli and his friends in the intimate circle in Zurich; and he must also have found it in the quiet of his own soul as he read the Bible for himself. Not only was it Conrad Grebel who experienced such a change, but others also, such as the learned and respected canon Heinrich Engelhart, who through Zwingli "was changed from a doctor of Roman law to a poor scholar of Christ."[24] A similar experience must have come to Heinrich Utinger, Clivanus, Binder, Ammann and the whole "Sodalitium." The time of Grebel's conversion must have been the spring of 1522, for up to the time of his marriage on February 6, 1522, there was no trace of a change, while already on the 7th of July, 1522, Grebel publicly appeared in the role of a zealous defender of the gospel.[25]

The foundation for the Reformation in Zurich had been laid in the hearts of the people by the clear and effective gospel preaching to which Ulrich Zwingli had devoted himself with increasing zeal from the time of his coming to Zurich in January, 1519. Experiences of conversion such as Conrad Grebel and Heinrich Engelhart had were only examples of what must have been the case with many others. At the very outset of his work in Zurich Zwingli had undertaken to preach only the pure Word of God beginning with the New Testament. According to his own testimony, from January, 1519 to April, 1522, he had expounded the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to Timothy and the Galatians, and the

23. Grebel to Vadian, July 28, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 30.
24. Staehelin, *Huldreich Zwingli,* I, 154.
25. The event in the council chamber, see below, notes 48 and 49.

two Epistles of Peter.[26] By August, 1522, he had added the letter to the Hebrews, "in order that the work of Christ might be better understood to His glory."[27] The months following brought "the excellent epistle to the Romans and almost all the epistles of Paul," and by August, 1523, the Gospel of Luke had been included.[28] Grebel must have heard this preaching and these expositions. In the few letters which have been preserved out of this period beginning with the letter dated November 1, 1522, quotations or echoes of the following New Testament books appear, I and II Timothy, I Peter, I and II Corinthians, Romans, and possibly the Gospel of John. In the latter half of 1523 quotations from Matthew, Luke, I Corinthians, Proverbs, and Isaiah appear. Grebel's expressions are strongly colored with Pauline thoughts, thoughts about faith, about the grace and peace of God, about Christ the head of the Church, about the calling and service of a preacher,[29] and about the moral life of the Christian who had become a new creature. So if we seek the source of the evangelical thinking which Grebel was doing during these months and years, it is very likely to be found first of all in the teaching and preaching of Ulrich Zwingli from the pulpit and through personal contact. In what form Grebel read the Bible at this time cannot be said with certainty. Possibly he used the Paraphrases of the books of the New Testament by Erasmus or the German translation of the same by Leo Jud which appeared in the years 1521, 1522, and 1523.[30]

But Grebel's thinking gradually took him beyond his own inner experience into the application of the gospel to the life of the church in his day. In this also he was following Zwingli, for early in his ministry in Zurich Zwingli began to add to the simple preaching of the Gospel a free criticism of the abuses which had grown up in the old church. He gradually developed a vigorous polemic against the moral corruption among the nuns and priests, and against the super-

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26. *Zwingli Werke* I, 133.

27. *Zwingli Werke* I, 285. "Ut Christi beneficium clarius agnoscerent ac gloriam".

28. *Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss, Quellen zur Schweiz. Reformationsgeschichte* I, Basel, 1901 p. 9. Also *op. cit.* p. 67.

29. A particularly beautiful passage concerning the service of the ministry is found in Grebel's letter to Vadian, July 14, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 52. "Parochum vestrum in Christo incolumem esse et doctum scribam regni coelorum, qui nova cum veteribus, divina cum divinis, testamentum utrunque eruere laboret, IUBEMUS, hoc est, ut sit, qualis et est deo volente, non solum corpore, verum etiam concionibus et evangelii ministerio valens."

30. *Zwingliana* II, pp. 198 ff.

stitious and unspiritual ceremonies of the church. He began to advocate as a fundamental principle the teaching that only such doctrines and ordinances should be maintained in the church as were according to Holy Scripture, and that all others which failed to measure up to this scriptural standard should be abandoned.

This new teaching and program which Zwingli advocated won the quick support of Conrad Grebel as well as of Zwingli's other supporters. As the enthusiasm in Zurich for reform in the church grew, Grebel was caught up in it. Indeed he soon became one of the most zealous of Zwingli's supporters, and received recognition from Zwingli as such. This recognition was indicated in a public way by the fact that Zwingli permitted Grebel to add a short poem as an appendix to his booklet *Archeteles* which was published August 23, 1522. In this poem Grebel appeared before the public as a staunch co-worker of Zwingli in the cause of the gospel. Thus in the brief space of a few months in 1522 Conrad Grebel had become a leading exponent of the new movement in Zurich. Zwingli's high opinion of Grebel is indicated also in a letter to Myconius dated August 26, 1522, in which he heartily invited Myconius to come to Zurich, for in Zurich Myconius would find himself in the midst of good friends: "you will be with Utinger, Engelhart, and Rey, the congenial older men, with Erasmus, Zwingli and Grossman, who are by no means to be despised, and with Grebel, Ammann and Binder, the most excellent and learned younger fellows."[31]

Outside of Zurich, Zwingli's friends were becoming increasingly aware of this promising young scholar, and what he might mean for the cause of the Reformation. For instance, Melchior Macrinus wrote from Solothurn on the fifteenth of October, 1522, to Zwingli that he had heard that Grebel had developed into an exceptional promoter of the gospel, a fact which gave Macrinus great joy, for such gifted and learned young men could render the gospel and the world a great service; furthermore there were in Zurich, thanks to Zwingli's work, more true Christians than anywhere else in Switzerland.[32] In two other letters to Zwingli dated January 25, and March

31. Zwingli to Myconius, Aug. 26, 1522, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 568.

32. Macrinus to Zwingli, Oct. 15, 1522, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 596.—"Salutem . . . . Conrado Grebelio, quem audio singularem evangelii patronum factum, quod mehercle, non mediocriter gaudeo, ut etiam iuvenes, qui ingenio et eruditione praestant, ad ea se studia converterint, ubi sibi ac toti mundo vere prodesse possunt. Item caeteros omens pure Christianos saluta, quorum apud vos longe plures, tuo beneficio, quam uspiam alibi in Helvetia esse scio."

6, 1523, Macrinus closes with greetings to "Grebel and the church of Christ," no other name being mentioned.[33] Johann Zwick of Riedlingen also thinks of Grebel in his letter to Zwingli of November 27, 1522,[34] and Berchthold Haller of Bern greets only Grebel and Leo Jud in his letter of May 9, 1523 to Zwingli.[35]

The close and intimate fellowship between Zwingli and Grebel during this time is proved from various sources. Zwingli testified to it three years later, after the fellowship had been broken, in a letter of March 31, 1525, to Vadian in which he complained of Grebel's attacks against him and accused him of ingratitude, since Grebel "had received so much from him." Grebel himself had the highest opinion of Zwingli at this time. He calls him "a man of the highest character" ("vir incorruptissimus"),[36] and in July, 1523, he characterizes a book of Zwingli as "a most christian book" ("liber perchristianum").[37] There are other evidences of the close and friendly relationships between the two men. For instance a number of times Grebel was the channel through which contacts between Vadian and Zwingli were made. On two occasions Vadian inquired of Grebel concerning Zwingli's purposes in regard to writing several books. To one of these inquiries Grebel replied that Zwingli had no intention at all of writing about the Mass, and Grebel should know, because Zwingli was living so near to him that he had only to stretch out his hand to touch him.[38] On another occasion, when the question of the appointment of a certain Schappeler as pastor in Winterthur was up, Grebel had confidential information about the matter and was asked by Zwingli to write to Vadian about it because Zwingli was too busy to do so. "We," says Grebel, meaning Zwingli, himself and his father, "are performing our duty in the matter diligently."[39] Again on the fourteenth of July, 1523, Grebel was the agent for Vadian in carrying through a plan to get three hundred copies of a newly published book by Zwingli sent to the fall fair at Nürnberg.[40] Several times in 1522 and 1523 Grebel sent the most recent writings

33. Macrinus to Zwingli, Jan. 25, and Mar. 6, 1523, *Zwingli Werke* VIII, 15 and 48.
34. Johannes Zwick to Zwingli, Nov. 27, 1522, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 621.
35. Berchtold Haller to Zwingli, May 9, 1523, *Zwingli Werke* VII, 77.
36. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 25, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* VII, 17.
37. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *Vad. Brs.* III, 26.
38. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 451.
39. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 29, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 410.
40. Grebel to Vadian, July 14, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 52.

of Zwingli to Vadian,[41] and once, at the end of 1522, Grebel expressed his regret to Vadian that Zwingli was so overwhelmed with work and problems in Zurich that he did not have the time to prepare a written confutation of the enemies of the gospel in St. Gall.[42] Grebel also procured copies of Zwingli's writings in 1523 for pastor Benedikt Burgauer in St. Gall.[43]

The close relationship between Grebel and Zwingli was maintained until the second Zurich disputation in October, 1523. Grebel was happy to work at Zwingli's side, and recognized him as a true and faithful shepherd and leader of the church of Christ. In this period the views of the two men must have agreed in all essential respects. Positive evidence of this is available on two points. In the matter of tithes, one of the burning issues of the day, Grebel indicated agreement with Zwingli.[44] The other point is still more significant. Lorenz Hochrütiner of St. Gall had been condemned in Zurich in the fall of 1523 for assisting in a bit of iconoclasm. Both Grebel and Zwingli undertook to come to Hochrütiner's aid. Each wrote a letter on almost the same day, viz., November 11 and 12, 1523, in which they protested against the decision of the court, indicated their desire to help, and requested Vadian to receive Hochrütiner as a true Christian and give him all the support that he needed.[45]

It will be of interest to discover what practical activities Grebel engaged in during the time of his support of Zwingli, and to see whether possibly during this early period there were any connections between him and his later co-workers in the Anabaptist movement. Unfortunately there is extremely little material available on Grebel's public activity from February, 1522 to October, 1523. His own letters contain practically nothing of this sort. His interest in the Schappeler matter has already been reported. One more thing is mentioned in his letters, namely his interest in the affairs of the convent at Oetenbach where his father's sister, Agathe Grebel, was a nun. He knew about the decision of the city council regarding the

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41. On July 14, 1523, and Dec. 25, 1522, for instance, he mentions sending books.

42. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 21, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* II, 452.

43. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 27; and Benedikt Burgauer to Grebel, July 21, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 29.

44. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *op. cit.*, 26.

45. Grebel to Vadian, Nov. 12, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 45; Zwingli to Vadian, *op. cit.* 43 and Nov. 11, 1523, *Zwingli Werke* VIII, 129.

release of the nuns, and about the appointment of Leo Jud as vicar of the convent, although of course he did not participate personally in either case.[46]

One very interesting affair in which Grebel was involved is reported in the records of the Zurich council, as well as in the chronicle of Bernhard Wyss. It was not a very important affair, but it is significant because of the attitude expressed by Grebel in it. On July 7, 1522, Conrad Grebel, Claus Hottinger, Heinrich Aberli, and Bartlime Pur were summoned before the council and were "forbidden to speak anymore against the monks in the pulpits, and were required to cease disputing and speaking about these things."[47] The brief and somewhat ambiguous record in the archives does not tell the full story. According to testimony before the same court in regard to the affair, there must have been quite a disturbance in connection with the trial. This is confirmed by Wyss. A witness reported that one of the councilmen, a certain Schlininger, had complained about the obstreperous attitude of the accused, and expressed the opinion "that the devil was sitting in the council chambers." Quick as a flash Grebel is said to have answered, "The devil is not only sitting in the council chambers, but he is sitting on the bench where the councilmen sit, for one of the councillors has said that one might as well preach the gospel to a dung heap; and if the councillors stand in the way of the progress of the gospel, they will themselves be destroyed." The witness who was reporting the above conversation added, "the councillors remained silent after this attack, and permitted the accused to go, for they had no desire to discuss the matter further."[48]

The significance of the whole affair is not quite clear. It is hardly possible that the four accused had been speaking against the monks from the pulpits, for they were laymen. Most likely they had been active in the growing agitation against the monks, following the leadership of Zwingli, and had been called to account by conservative elements in the city council. But when the case was brought before the council, the lords did not know what to do, for as Grebel cleverly suggested, there was a division of opinion in the council itself, and so the accused were dismissed without punishment. Without a doubt the incident proves that Grebel was among the most

46. Grebel to Vadian, Dec. 1, 1522, *Vad. BrS.* III, 234 and June 17, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 26.

47. *Chronik des Bernhard Wyss, op. cit.,* 14-15.

48. Egli, *Aktensammlung* No. 269, p. 94.

zealous of the lay supporters of Ulrich Zwingli, and that he as a young patrician was not afraid to participate in public demonstrations with the common man and take the consequences involved, even to the point of challenging the city council. Already in this affair he demonstrated his ability to be a leader in a popular movement. In this respect he took a quite different attitude from that of a Binder or a Clivanus, his friends in the Zwinglian circle. The latter apparently never participated actively as leaders in the affairs of the time. They did not mix with the common people, but played the role of retired scholars, faithful to Zwingli indeed, but not disposed to take the lead in practical activity in the public conflict. Conrad Grebel was made of other stuff, as is evident already in July, 1522. In the years of the early reformation in Zurich he was the only man who succeeded in leading any important opposition among the people against Zwingli, as will be evident later.

It is not known whether Grebel participated in further active demonstrations by the aggressively evangelical elements in the population who gathered around such men as Heinrich Aberli, Claus and Jakob Hottinger, Bartlime Pur and others. The archives of the city, as well as the chronicles written by the various chroniclers of the time, are altogether silent about Grebel's activities except for the above affair in July, 1522. Several other interesting incidents are reported at which one might expect to find Grebel as a participant, but in no case does Grebel's name appear in the list of those involved. For instance at the end of May, 1522, a dinner was given in Jacob Grebel's house called "Oberhof" which involved some of the aggressive elements, but Grebel's name does not appear among the list of participants.[49] The same is the case in the dinner which was held in Christoph Froschauer's house in April, 1522, at which there was an open breach of the lenten fast by such prominent persons as Zwingli, Leo Jud, Utinger, and Binder.[50] Again in the spring of 1523 a popular movement set in against some of the practices and ceremonies of the church which finally concentrated in opposition to "images" in the church and involved some iconoclasm. When, in September, 1523, Hochrütiner, Hans Oggenfuss and Klaus Hottinger participated in breaking off the crucifix at Stadelhofen, Grebel,

49. Egli, *Aktensammlung,* No. 246, p. 82. According to Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* p. 65, note 2, this document should be dated the end of May instead of April.

50. Egli, *Aktensammlung* No. 233 and 234, pp. 72-75.

as well as Zwingli, defended the act (as mentioned earlier), but made it quite clear that he himself was not involved, and that he would not have thought of taking part in such activities. From the very beginning of his participation in the Reformation Grebel never took part in acts of radicalism and violence, but rather refrained from such methods. His service was not to consist of precipitous and ill-considered attacks against men and things, but in an incisive proclamation of the word of God and of a demand for an unconditional obedience to the Scriptures and the gospel.

This attitude of Grebel, namely his demand for an unreserved acceptance of the truth, and his opposition to fanatical attempts at change which would disturb the existing order, is clearly indicated in the tithes issue which came to the fore in Zurich in 1522 and 1523. In a letter of July 13, 1523, he spoke sharply about the attitude of the Zurich city council on the question of tithes. He called the city fathers "turks and tyrants," said they were acting as "the world," and suggested that they should properly be called "the destroying fathers."[51] But he never proposed that the citizens of Zurich should withhold payment of taxes and tithes, and he did not participate in the revolutionary movement of 1523 among the common people to refuse the payment of taxes and tithes. His attitude on the question of tithes was exactly that of Zwingli, who as early as the summer of 1522 had flatly declared that tithes were not consistent with divine righteousness, and that the whole institution of tithes smacked of tyranny.[52] It is essential to emphasize the unrevolutionary character of Grebel's attitude at this point in order to prepare for a just evaluation of Grebel's attitude later after the break with Zwingli.

It is not clear to what extent Grebel established connections at this early time (1522-1523) with his later co-workers in the Anabaptist movement. Since he felt himself to be a thoroughgoing follower of Zwingli, there was no occasion for him to participate in the formation of a separatist party of any sort. It is true, as was related above, that he was active with men like Aberli, Pur and Hottinger in some of the agitation against the monks, but there is no evidence that he established a permanent or organized connection with them. Andreas Castelberger, who conducted Bible classes as early as May, 1522, for certain small groups, seems to have been operating on an

51. Grebel to Vadian, July 13, 1523, *Vad. BrS.* III, 26. "Gentes mundi dixi tyrannos patriae nostrae, quos patres conscriptos vocant, rectius patres decimantes vocaturi."
52. Emil Egli, *Schw. Ref. Gesch.* I, Zürich 1910, p. 67.

independent basis.[53] He had been in Zurich since 1516 as a bookseller, but there is no evidence of any connection between him and Grebel in 1522-23. Simon Stumpf, parish pastor at Höngg since 1520, was a faithful supporter of Ulrich Zwingli, and as we have seen, a member of the inner circle of Zwingli's friends to which Grebel also belonged. But he does not seem to have been prominent in any public agitation until the autumn of 1523, although he did preach in September, 1522, against tithes.[54] Wilhelm Reublin did not appear in Zurich until November 1, 1522, when he was summoned before the court because of violation of the regulation concerning fasting. He had been expelled from Basel in the summer of 1522 and had received an appointment as pastor in Wytikon near Zurich sometime in the autumn of that year.[55] Ludwig Hätzer, who was not a citizen of Zurich but is supposed to have been a chaplain at Wädenswil about this time, published a tract against images in the summer of 1523.[56] Nothing is known of contact between Grebel and the two non-Zurichers Reublin and Hätzer, but there is even less reason to assume any significant relationship with them than with Castelberger and Stumpf. As for Felix Manz, all that is known of him at this time is that he had left Zurich for Paris in 1520 with a royal scholarship and probably did not return before 1522; in that year he is reported to have been zealous in the study of Hebrew along with Zwingli.[57] Grebel could scarcely have become acquainted with him before 1522, but apparently the two men became fast friends very early, although nothing definitely is known as to the time of the beginning of their friendship.

In thinking of the relation between Grebel and his later Anabaptist friends, therefore, it must be made plain that there was no "radical party" in Zurich in 1522 and 1523 as has often been asserted, and that Grebel was certainly not the leader of any such party. There

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53. Egli, *Aktensammlung* No. 252, p. 85, places the first mention of Castelberger's "Schule" in May, 1522. Document no. 623, pp. 276 ff. (to be dated 1523, not 1522, according to Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte*) has an extremely interesting report of Castelberger's "Predigt" in his "Schule". A short biography of Castelberger is found in *Zwingli Werke* VIII, 342, note 8.

54. A brief biography of Simon Stumpf in *Zwingli Werke* VII, 195, note 1. In November, 1523, he was deposed from his office, and six weeks later he was banished from the canton of Zurich. To what extent the charge was justified is not clear, but it is certain that his parish was a center of unrest.

55. A brief biography of Reublin in *Zwingli Werke* VII, 509, Note 6.

56. A brief biography of Haetzer in *Zwingli Werke* VIII, 361, Note 1.

57. A brief biography of Manz in *Zwingli Werke* IX, 26, Note 6.

were a considerable number of zealous supporters of Zwingli who had been stirred by the power of his preaching and who had a zeal for the gospel which constrained them to active participation in every way possible in the movement of reform. The common, unlearned man of this type turned either to personal Bible study with the help of "teachers" like Castelberger, or tended to expression in the form of attacks on the monks and on the ceremonies and images. The more learned and cultivated men among Zwingli's supporters, pastors like Stumpf, Reublin and Hätzer, or young humanist scholars like Grebel and Manz, were scarcely interested in the activities of the other type of people. They devoted themselves to the higher studies, or to discussing with Zwingli ways and means by which the reform movement might be promoted, and no doubt frequently urged him to more active steps. There is no evidence whatsoever that any substantial differences existed in teaching or in general reform program between Zwingli and these men who were later to become Anabaptists. Zwingli himself had not yet formulated thoroughly his own program; he was still feeling his way step by step.

Gradually however, the reform movement gained momentum. The ferment among the people began to bear fruit, and by the summer of 1523 there was a wide-spread demand for the inauguration of practical measures of reform which would do away with the "abominations" of the papal church. No doubt Zwingli welcomed this development, and yet it forced him as a leader of the religious life of the city, together with the civil authorities who had the legal responsibility, to come to a decision as to what should finally be done, as to whether the time had come to actually inaugurate reform. The first Zurich disputation of January, 1523 and the accompanying decision of the council had opened the way for the gospel in Zurich. But that was not enough, for it provided only in a general way for evangelical preaching. In order to prepare for the definite reform of church life through the abolition of images and the Mass, Zwingli and the city council appointed a second disputation to be held October 26-29, 1523. When this second disputation also did not result in a positive decision to inaugurate reform, many in Zurich were disappointed. Among the dissatisfied appeared most of those who later participated with Conrad Grebel in the Anabaptist movement, but certainly this was not due to any previous organized connection or to any united agreement among them.

The failure to take action was perhaps more keenly felt by Conrad Grebel than by anyone else in Zurich. His dissatisfaction with the delay was to be the beginning of a gradual change in his attitude toward Zwingli and Zwingli's program. From close co-operation with Zwingli Grebel was to move more and more in the direction of opposition until finally when the transition had been completely made, he was to become in January, 1525, the leader of the Swiss Brethren, the first Anabaptists.

CHILDHOOD REMINISCENCES OF A RUSSIAN MENNONITE IMMIGRANT MOTHER 1859-1880

C. C. Regier

Introduction

The following chronicle was written by my mother in 1930, when she was seventy years of age. It was written in a small notebook and in the German language. The penmanship is excellent, but there are numerous grammatical mistakes and no paragraphs. I have given it a liberal and, I trust, faithful translation. In a few places I have added facts which she had omitted.

Ever since her marriage in 1880 "Mother" has been known in her community as Mrs. Cornelius Regier. She came to America with her parents in 1878, and has ever since resided within a dozen miles of Moundridge, Kansas, except that she has made brief visits to her children, some of whom live in different states of the middle West. Her ancestors can be traced back to Prussia. Her great-grandfather, Isaac Wall, was born in that country on March 24, 1757. Her grandfather, John Wall, was also born there on October 9, 1792. This man committed two daring deeds in 1818. He married a girl by the name of Mary Fast, and he moved to Russia where he settled in the Molotschna valley. To this marriage eight children were born, as follows:

1. Cornelius, July 16, 1819. He moved to Nebraska.
2. Mary, October 14, 1820. Married David Tesmann.
3. Helen, November 24, 1822. Died November 20, 1837.
4. Anna, August 21, 1824. Married John Heinrichs.
5. John, April 5, 1826. Died December 18, 1830.
6. Sara, February 7, 1830. Died September 21, 1851.
7. John, November 4, 1831. This is mother's father. Died Jan. 19, 1901.
8. Justina, July 27, 1836. Died February 24, 1842.

Mary Fast died on June 28, 1849. Mr. Wall then married Anna Ott, on February 25, 1851. This second wife died on September 11, 1859. He married a third time, this time to Margaret Baergen. This

marriage took place on October 20, 1859—only 39 days after the death of his previous wife. He died on April 19, 1862.

Mother's father, whose name was also John Wall, and whom I shall call "grandfather," was born in the village of Elisabeththal, Russia, on November 4, 1831. In the village of Altonau he became acquainted with Margaret Wiens, and married her on January 23, 1855. She had been born on July 30, 1831. They, too, had eight children, five of whom died in infancy.

1. On February 10, 1856, a son was born who died immediately.
2. Margaret, June 14, 1857. Died January 7, 1860.
3. Mary, December 6, 1859. This is "mother," who is still living.
4. John, April 9, 1862. Died in an automobile accident in Kansas, September 25, 1916.
5. Margaret, April 10, 1865. Died December 7, 1866.
6. Cornelius, December 12, 1867. Died in Los Angeles, California, December 31, 1935.
7. Peter, July 2, 1870. Died December 22, 1874.
8. Gerhard, June 2, 1873. Died March 19, 1874.

Grandfather was a carpenter and cabinet-maker by trade. After his marriage he settled down in Altonau. He built many houses and treadmills, for Russians as well as for Mennonites. In the old country he built a church in Lichtenau, and in this country one at Alexanderwohl, near Goessel, Kansas. When he moved from Altonau to Alexanderkron in Russia, about 1868, he became a farmer. In America he lived on an eighty acre farm. His early years in Kansas were divided between farming and carpentering. He was a quiet, sober, industrious, and intelligent man who held the respect of his fellows and the love of his family. He died of tuberculosis at the age of 69 after an illness of six years.

John Wall's wife Margaret was the daughter of John Wiens, a man who came to Russia at the age of 18 and lived to be 91. John Wiens was not a full-fledged farmer, but an "Anwohner"—one who owned but a few acres of land. From his first marriage he had five daughters and one son, and from a second marriage two daughters. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Jacob Wall. The second daughter, Margaret, married John Wall, my grandfather. Justina married a Mr. Dridiger, and Mary was mated to Peter Wall. Jacob Wall and Peter Wall were brothers. John Wall was not related to them, except by marriage. The fifth daughter, Helen, died when

she was about 14. The son was named John. The girls from the second marriage were Susanna and Sarah. The latter married a Mr. Peters and came to America early in the present century. When Peters died she married H. K. Janzen of Hydro, Oklahoma. When the four older daughters grew up they were engaged in spinning silk in summer and in weaving straw hats in winter. Then Mr. Wiens' economic situation improved somewhat. He became an inspector of the silk industry. Once Margaret, my grandmother, received a prize at Charkov for having spun the best silk. The prize consisted of calico for a dress. Some years before her death she presented me a little bundle of white silk which she had spun in Russia. During most of her life she was of a friendly and cheerful disposition. In her sixties she went through a hard siege of sickness which deprived her of much of her habitual cheerfulness. She died on November 12, 1916 at the age of 85. Her sister, Mrs. Peter Wall, reached the advanced age of 101 years.

I was born in the year 1859, November 24 old style, or December 6 new style—in the same house in which my mother was born. This house was a combination of masonry and woodwork. On the outside between the cross-beams it was plastered; on the inside it was sealed with broad boards which were quite dark, probably from age and much washing. It was covered with straw, very likely rye-straw, which was long. Such straw was tied into tiny bundles which were then fastened to the sheathing beginning at the bottom like a shingle roof.

We had a small house in the yard. When mother was a girl she spun silk there. During my young days father used it for a workshop, and had two or three men work with him. Often, however, he was gone, building mills, tread-mills. For these the cog-wheels had to be made by hand. I have seen father make them.

We lived not far from the Molotschna river. When it overflowed, the water came close to our house. I have not experienced it myself, but mother related that she had at times handed fire through the windows to the boys to light their cigarettes while they were skating around the house at night. Once, I recall, we had water in the basement.

Altonau was the name of our village, and was apparently situated at the end of the settlement, for farther on were the Russian villages. It was interesting to watch the Russians on holidays. On New Year's day, for instance, they came to say their good wishes. In a sack they carried a mixture of grains which they scattered, preferably on our heads, while they sang their wish. Mother used to buy a string of jumbles for the occasion, and every well-wisher received about two of them. We admitted them through only one door, so they wouldn't soil the whole house. At Epiphany they came early. Then, on a long handle they carried a star, inside of which was a light. To us children that was always very interesting. We had our joys, just as children have them everywhere. Once a man came around with a

bear which had been taught to dance, and he stayed over night at our place. We children had often been told that licorice was the droppings of bears. Brother John and I were glad. Now we would find a lot of licorice in the morning. But when we went to investigate, after the animal had been removed, we found only dung.

At another time, when I probably had done something I was not supposed to do, father said he would sell me to the Schumacks. These were migrants who traveled with oxen. They had just brought father several loads of heating-timber. Wood was not in the usable shape that it is here, nor could it be so easily obtained. That was brought to us by these Schumacks with their squeaking wagon-wheels and their tar-plastered pants. And I hid myself in the woods behind the buildings till those people were gone. Whether the parents noticed it I do not know, but brother John and a few neighbor children gave me company in the woods. I could relate many other similar incidents but this, I think, will suffice.

My schooling was started in Altonau, and there I saw my first Christmas tree, which was, I think, the only one I saw in Russia. Alexanderkron, to which we moved next, was a newer and a poorer village and was located in a new settlement. Yes, I think the memory of that Christmas tree still comes to me every time I see one. How wonderful everything was. We school children only whispered before the celebration began. We dared not speak aloud. Everything was simply too wonderfully beautiful.

The Molotschna, we just called it Molosh, must have been rich in fish, for I recall that mother often fried fish. Once, I recall, crabs were boiled. For this purpose a large kettle of water was boiled, and then a basket with live crabs was put into the boiling water. That must have been a disagreeable task for poor mother. But we liked the taste of those things. Later I didn't eat them anymore. I think it is the pincers and the tail that are edible. They turn red when they are boiled.

The Molosh was not like our Kansas creeks which become turbulent streams at times. It always had water and must have been a fairly large river. Once mother sent me and the girl who was working for us to the Molosh to take a bath. We took an egg along to wash our hair and made use of the fine clean sand of the river. The water was so clean that we could see the river bed.

On the other side of the Molosh was a high plateau. We could see it from our house, and it looked almost like mountains with their gorges. Once our teacher took us school children over. We crossed the river in a boat, and then climbed what to us appeared a high mountain. But when we arrived at the top we found it to be flat land.

Thus I might continue to reminisce about Altonau, but we must proceed to Alexanderkron to which we moved. Just how old I was at this time I do not know (9 or 10) but I recall an incident which would indicate that I was still quite silly. It was this way: Mother had a small child which she had put to sleep, and as children formerly did not sleep unless they were rocked I was to do the rocking, so that mother might tend to the dinner. She made everything ready and convenient for me, but I didn't want to rock. There was no use talking, I wouldn't rock! Then she fetched a stick and spanked me, but I said it didn't hurt. She spanked harder, so that the stick broke. Still I insisted that it didn't hurt. She procured a better stick and punished

till it did hurt, and I cried. From this incident I gather that I cannot have been very old.

Yes, I still remember the day we moved. It was a very dusty day, similar to some we have here in Kansas during the spring at times. One year we got only thirteen tschetwert (seventy-eight bushels) of wheat from the whole farm. A farm (Feuerstelle) had sixty-five desjatines (162 acres) of land. And now we no longer belonged to the landless class (Anwohner), but were farmers (Bauer). Later father used to say that the biggest blunder of his life was to think that he was a farmer. If such a person tries to farm everything goes wrong.

Here we found a better house than the one we had in Altonau. It was of masonry and had a tile roof. The barn was built right against the house. It, too, had a tile roof. The houses of the village were all alike. That was true of the whole settlement. Everywhere there was a uniform arrangement. The barn had room for twelve horses and twelve cows—or was it only eight cows? There was also a room for the man servant, and in the front part father had his carpenter bench. At times he had that in the summer room of the house.

The land was divided. In the first place, there was the house-yard. It was about as large as ours on the farm when the orchard still existed. (In Kansas, about two acres). We had a good orchard, and trees lasted longer than they do here. Immediately behind the orchard were the woods, which had been planted. It was a good place for visiting on Sundays. Beyond the woods was the real farm land. Ours was not right behind our woods, but somewhat to one side. How many desjatines we had here I cannot say. We had another piece of land nine versts (six miles) away, but it also belonged to the estate. Where forty farmers live in the same village the land had to be so divided that each has some close by and some at a distance. I have often seen father measure and figure on a piece of paper on which he had drawn an irregular piece of land. The problem was to give each of the forty farmers the same amount.

The pasture for the stock was owned in common. At the end of the village lived the shepherd who drove out the cattle each morning and brought them back toward evening. In the morning as he passed through the village to collect his herd he blew his horn loudly so as to waken the people who had to do the milking. Anyone who was not ready with his cows when he came back had to drive them after him later. This was regarded as a disgrace, and people laughed at such an one. We lived in the middle of the village, and I had little trouble to get ready with my three cows by the time the herd reached our place. Besides, we always stood in well with the shepherd. Mother frequently slipped him a thing or two, so that we were never in trouble. This was not the case everywhere. If people offended him he would take his revenge by blowing his horn only mildly as he passed the offender's place. This might result in oversleeping and consequent disgrace.

About the threshing of grain, too, it was different from what it is now. Generally we hauled all the grain home and stacked it. The stacks were arranged all around the threshing place. The place had to be prepared and hardened. The grain was then scattered and threshed with a threshing-stone. It worked very well, and I would know how to do it yet. Sometimes we got a hundred tschetwert. I worked hard in the harvests, and it was much fun

for me. I preferred it decidedly to household work. At such times father was always a little proud of me. I didn't know it then, but I know it now.

Church affairs were not as well regulated as they generally are now. Today, it seems to me, people are almost overfed. Many a Sunday we did not go to church at all, for the simple reason that it was too far to go. At times there were services in the school house, or in the school house of a neighboring village. In that case we went. Occasionally father read to us a sermon out of "Hofacker," as we ourselves did later on. Sunday schools were not prevalent yet, and they were not necessary. We learned the Bible and the Testament better than is now the case. The grading in the schools was done by primer, Testament, and Bible. The larger pupils read the Bible. Other reading books we had none. Of course, we pursued a few other studies, like church history and geography. General history was not offered.

I went to school till I was thirteen, no longer. During my first year at home we still had a girl. My parents thought it might otherwise be too hard for me. After that, however, I had to be girl for everything. The mornings have remained in my memory particularly. About six o'clock father would call from the other room, "Marie"! I would reply, "yes"—and then fall asleep again. But the call came again and again until at last I got up. In winter it was cold. I went to the kitchen and lit a light, probably a tallow light. Then I lit the lantern and went into the barn, which was close by, and wakened the Russian boy and brought a large basket of straw for the stove. Before starting the fire the ashes had to be taken out of the stove, and they filled a whole basket. Since the ashes contained glowing embers they could not be left in the basket but had to be carried out to the ash pit at once, which was about twenty steps from the house. Then the heating could begin. By that time father was there to take charge of the firing, while I went into the barn to milk the two or three cows. Before I arrived for milking the Russian boy had cleaned the cow stalls and had scattered fresh straw. When I re-entered the house, mother was at work too, the postum had been boiled, and we ate breakfast. Thereafter the daily work took its course.

The house was so arranged that the kitchen was toward the center. Here the stove was situated which heated also the big brick chimney. The chimney was so large that it formed a part of the walls of the living rooms. By firing the stove in the kitchen the bricks of the chimney were heated, and they in turn heated the rooms without soiling them. Most of the heating was done with straw. Only on special occasions did we use dried dung. To be able to use dung seemed very pleasant. The region was timberless, except for the woods that had been planted. For that reason we could not heat with wood. The floors consisted of broad unpainted boards, and were not covered with rugs. Russia had fine white sand, and that was used for scattering over the floors. In the large room, which was not often in use, it remained nice and crisp for a long time, but not so in the rooms where we walked much. Here, however, it rubbed the floors white. The front hall and the summer room had brick floors. These had to be polished at times by rubbing with a brick until they again appeared a pretty red. The kitchen, too, had a brick floor, but the back hall had one of dirt only. Why it should have been thus I cannot tell. The whole barn was floored with planks. That was the custom. What sort of a floor we had in the larder I have forgotten. The outer doors were all in two halves, so that the lower door could be kept closed while the

upper one was open. In that way we could admit fresh air while keeping the dogs and chickens out.

Now I must tell you how we obtained this dung fuel. During the winter the cow dung was put on a special place. A little horse dung could be mixed with it, but not much. This, I think, does not burn well, and it was needed for fertilizing the land. When it got warmer in spring the Russians came and prepared the dung. We had brick-forms which were used. The stuff had to be prepared first. With their feet they kneaded it, using a little chaff and water so that it would form a mass that would hold together when it dried. Then they put it on a table and kneaded it into the brick-forms with their hand, after which it was carried off to dry. When it had dried a little it was erected into little houses so it could dry thoroughly. Then we carried it into the barn, and were proud of all our fuel. Our wish was that we might have more of it. We fed these people while they were engaged in this operation, and when they came into the house for meals they brought with them an odor that was vile.

In general it was a very different life, much more in the rough. The salt we used we had to rub ourselves. We obtained it in lumps.

Harvesting was done with the scythe. One woman could bind what two men cut. I recall one occasion when mother had prepared food for the workers, and had it all packed on a wagon (wagons were smaller than American wagons). Then, apparently, she turned about too abruptly. At any rate, the wagon tipped over and everything lay on the ground. What happened further I do not know, but I remember how mother's face flushed—just as Mary's did at times. Later, mowing machines were introduced. Once father went to Odessa and brought several. They were put together on our yard. Father had to do that as the others didn't know how. When I was big enough to help with the harvest the mowing machines were already in use.

Two of my brothers, Peter and Gerhard, rest in the cemetery of Alexanderkron. In Altonau are buried a little brother and two sisters. One of these sisters, Margaret, I remember. When she died I was called home from school. As I entered the house I saw her lying there stiff and dead. It seemed very remarkable, and I was very lonesome for her. The two brothers who died in Alexanderkron I remember very well. By that time I was almost grown up, and I shared in the bearing and the grieving. Of the other two I remember nothing. They were older than I.

In 1878 we moved to America. Generally father was more venturesome than mother, but this time it was mother who wanted to move. She didn't want her boys to become soldiers. The perpetual exemption from military service which had been promised us came to an abrupt end. We were allowed ten years in which to emigrate in case we objected to rendering such service. Those who remained did not have to do regular military service, but they had to work for the government for three years, mostly in forests.

Now there was much for us to do. Everything that could not be taken along had to be sold. The farm place was sold for 3,300 rubles. That was very cheap, but since so many emigrated and since nobody sold to Russians (they were not allowed in the colony), that could not be helped. And there was packing and baking and toasting to be done. We took food along for the whole journey. Toasted rye bread and toasted zwieback (that means slowly and thoroughly toasted) and finely chopped raw cured ham was taken along. (About trichinas we did not even think.) Fried ham would

probably have tasted old after a while. This always tasted good, particularly with vinegar. Some may have used onions also, but for that mother was not to be had. A kettle was taken along for fetching hot water at the stations. Coffee we had also. This constituted the bulk of our food for about a month.

The journey was a pleasant one, at least for us young people—after the pains of parting had subsided somewhat. The parents probably were not entirely free of worries. Now we had the opportunity to see something else, and it was interesting. It took seven days to reach Bremen, then two weeks on the steamer "Strasburg," and three or four days to reach our final destination. Very likely it would not have been necessary to spend seven days on the way to Bremen if we had been hurried along everywhere as we were in Germany. But it went very slowly at places in Russia. Passengers sometimes stepped out of the coaches and walked alongside of the train. At one place in which there were many Jews we were treated in typically Jewish fashion. They wanted to transport us on a train that had only cattle cars. Uncle Peter Wall, who was one of our leaders, became very irritable because of this. Such was no part of the bargain that had been made. But we were told that if we objected we should have to wait a whole day. Rather than do that we went in cattle cars. As I recall it, there were seats only on the inner circumference of the cars. However, we were not crowded. When we passed through Germany we were once packed into cars where we were really crowded, and there were no seats. Then Uncle Wall was very angry. We had to change our seating—on the floor or on our luggage. There were no other seats. It was in Berlin where we received such crazy treatment. I haven't forgotten those German manners yet. How they swore! That was not the case in Russia.

The ocean voyage was delightful, except that at the beginning we had to contend with that seasickness. Later that didn't bother us any more even if it got a little windy. Heavy storms we encountered none, although at times preparations for storms were made on the vessel. We had to contend with fog though. Under such conditions a vessel has to proceed slowly on account of the danger of collision. The fog-horn was much in use. On the vessel we received our board, only we were too particular and didn't like the food. Nothing tasted right. Then the food had to be thrown into the water for the fishes. At times they allowed some of our women to help with the preparation of the food in the kitchen. But even then it did not taste right. I presume the seasickness did not leave us entirely. Everything had a sweetish taste, one we did not like.

Our vessel, the "Strasburg," belonged to the Bremen North German Lloyd, and was commanded by Captain O. Heimbruch.* It was entirely occupied by our people, 106 families of 645 souls. The company went to considerable expense with us. It wanted the business of transporting those who would follow us. (In the office in Bremen we had paid for our passage in Russian money—44,394 rubles, or $22,197 in American money. It was all paid in paper money, gold, silver, and copper—no checks or drafts). On Sundays we had our customary religious services. Neufeld and Nickel, who settled in Minnesota, did the preaching. Jacob W. Penner, the father of missionary Peter W. Penner, was one of our leaders. Uncle Peter Wall first became a preacher in this country.

* The printed passenger list of this journey is in the possession of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

We were all very glad, however, when we again caught sight of land. People crowded to the land side of the vessel to such an extent that it tilted, but the ship's crew said nothing. Toward evening we reached the shore. That we had to spend another night on the steamer was hard to bear. The next day, July 2, 1878, we landed at Castle Garden and were inspected. The fathers changed their money. Then we had to board a ship once more, a smaller one this time. Here were Germans once more with their "Donner wetter." On board the "Strasburg" no one swore at us. What these cussers had to seek on the American shore is not known to me. In New York we were greeted by a committee, composed of Isaac Peters, J. F. Funk and David Goerz. These men assisted us in many ways, and saw to it that everybody took the right train for his destination. Before we were packed into railroad coaches once more we were treated to a good dinner. We had potatoes that didn't taste sweet, and meat and bread and oysters. With the latter, however, they didn't achieve much. We wouldn't eat them. They probably wondered later what sort of people these were that wouldn't eat oysters. (This dinner was probably tendered by the railroad companies).

At last we were on the train to Kansas. That it should have been this state rather than some other frontier state was due to family connections. Peter Wall's had determined on Kansas because John (Lohrenz) Wall's (Peter's brother) were already there, and we wanted to stay with Peter Wall's because Mrs. Wall and mother were sisters.

This time the coaches had real seats—as is still the case on American trains. It was evening when we reached St. Louis and had to be transferred from one depot to another. My place was on the high seat by the driver, and as we moved over the bumpy stone pavement I was almost scared. The thing that seemed to us remarkable about St. Louis was the general display of fireworks. That we had not seen in any other city. It was only later that we realized that we passed through this city during the night of the Fourth of July! If we had known the significance of the occasion it would have been more interesting.

We reached Halstead, Kansas on July 6th, and found two wagons waiting for us, one in charge of John Wall and the other of Jacob Lohrenz. They packed us up as well as possible. The American wagons are much larger than the Russian. (Papa's parents brought one along from Russia. Mine didn't). Even so, the wagons became very crowded with trunks and boxes alone. I and Peter Wall's Anna even offered to walk the rest of the distance. We would probably have soured on that proposition. (About 12 miles). At last we all got on somehow and went out to meet our luck. It was harvest time, and after we had driven a distance we met a rider on his way to Halstead for repairs for the harvester. That was my future husband. At the time I wasn't even thinking about such things. He probably was.

We were temporarily quartered with old Mr. and Mrs. Peter Lohrenz. Peter Wall's lived with John Wall's, which seemed rather pleasant to us, for John Wall's were not strangers. The Lohrenzes were up to that time entirely strange people to us. They lived in a so-called shorthouse, which is a structure made of wide two-inch boards and needs no studding. The cooking was done in an open kitchen with dirt floor. We could follow the smoke with our eyes. Under certain weather conditions the soot on the ceiling got wet and fell down in drops. That was very uncomfortable. On the oven in the kitchen they used a tripod, and the heating was done with hay. In those days there

was plenty of prairie grass. I recall that one day guests arrived shortly before dinner. Quickly a fire was built of hay in the oven and on the tripod they baked flat cakes (guestcakes) in grease. To me that seemed quite peculiar. We never had to do it thus, for father always knew how to arrange things a little more comfortably for us. How long we stayed in the Lohrenz home I do not know, but it must have taken at least a month before the parents found a place that appealed to them.

When we moved into the little house on our farm father at once built an improved sort of oven, one that had holes for kettles on top and that was heated from below. The old-fashioned chimneys were large enough for smoking hams and sausages. We generally left the hams hanging there for about a month. Sausages were done in a couple of weeks. They had a dark appearance then, but the taste was good. During the winter the firing was done twice a day, and that furnished enough smoke. Here in America father didn't build a very wide chimney, and we didn't do much smoking in it. In a narrow chimney the meat is apt to bake.

Those were days of poverty. Not only we were poor. Everybody was poor. The money had to be used for purchasing land, horses, cows, harness, etc. We had to get along with very little. There was a little house on our 80 acres, but the quarter which Peter Wall's bought was all prairie. As it was seeding time when we moved onto our farm, the eighty acres was divided in order that Wall's might also put in a crop. Next spring brother John was very busy breaking prairie on their place. The ploughing was done with oxen, and they always ran into the water when they came along the creek. John got very angry at them. He didn't know what to do. For temporary protection Wall's built themselves a "Sarey" on their land—a low structure, the roof of which rests on the foundation and is covered with long grass. In it they spent the first winter. What sort of heating arrangement they had I do not recall, but very likely father erected some masonry for the purpose. During the earliest period they came to cook on our oven, but that wasn't for long. I remember that once Mary (later Mrs. Richert) was jubilant over the fact that they had brown fat for their dough dumplings. Everything was very scarce. If at times we bought a piece of bacon it was not the kind we have now, with stripes of lean meat in it. No, it was pure fat, old and tough. But we had to be satisfied with conditions as they were. Not until we raised our own supplies did things begin to improve.

Soon we turned to building our houses. Wall's house was erected first because they needed it more. We had a piece of a house on our place, but it was very cold during the winter. Mother and I spent a number of days in bed under the feather bed. The bricks which were used for lining the walls on the inside we had to make ourselves, for we didn't wish to freeze every winter. Our brick establishment we had close to the creek. Father would dig up as much earth as we wanted to use at one time. To this chaff or short straw was added and then thoroughly kneaded with horses. I and Anna Wall (Mrs. Peter Regier) carried all the water that was required for the operation from the creek up the bank. I used two buckets, she only one. She was only sixteen at the time while I was nineteen. Uncle Peter Wall then laid the mud on the table, and the boys, the two Johns and Peter, kneaded it into the forms with their hands and carried the bricks away. Their hands probably ached from the work. At any rate, my feet hurt so that I thought I couldn't proceed any more. But then, after everything was in full swing again it

worked. Mother got sick while we were making bricks. She had a fever, with high temperature. Once she got so hot in the little house that she determined to get out. Since she was too weak to walk she crawled, and while she lay helpless little brother Cornelius cried and chased the flies from her. Yes, that was settling on the frontier! Once, I recall, we were supposed to be satisfied with unpeeled potatoes and salt for supper, no grease or butter. If there had been jelly or syrup for the bread we could have satisfied our hunger, but this seemed a little too meager. It must be hard to cook when there is nothing to cook with.

Wall's house was made a little larger than ours. They had a summer-room in which Uncle Wall taught school (German) the next year. He may have taught a few months the first year. I do not remember that exactly. But I know that the school children all got sick one day. It was claimed that the sickness resulted from the fact that the walls of the house were not entirely dry. On being heated they emitted a vapor that did not agree with the children.

The following spring our house was built. While that was going on we had an experience with Kansas weather, which was still unknown to us. The house was already up. The roof was shingled. The doors and windows were all in place. The boys, Peter Wall, Jr. and brother John, were digging the basement. (Hard work for boys of 17.) Father was doing carpenter work and I was cleaning the house of lumber and shavings. It thundered and rained and turned suddenly very dark. Father went to the open door to have a look. And then the house came crashing down! Since the boys were working in the basement the house passed over them, and since father went to the door he found himself at once outside. Not so with me. I was pinned against the pump by a beam. Father lifted the beam a little; the storm assisted, and I, too, was free—with a crushed leg which needed considerable medical attention later. It hailed violently; not in very large lumps but furiously. When it was over, our field of fine spring wheat was all gone, and the house lay on the ground. That was a hard time for the parents. Think of it. In a strange country; the lumber for the house may have been bought with borrowed money. Now it lay scattered on the ground. The harvest was ruined, and for me and brother Cornelius medical aid had to be procured. The little brother could not urinate and had to be operated on, something that did not often happen in those days. More than once I heard father groan at night when he probably thought we were all asleep. But things went on as all things pass in this world.

Is it strange, however, that we sometimes wished we had never seen America? I wonder if most of our people would not have returned to Russia if they had had the necessary means and if it had not been for the threatened military service. At any rate, we would have, and Mrs. John K. Regier once told me their family would surely have returned. In the Regier family I think it was different. They were well pleased, for here the boys could all come into possession of land, which had become difficult yonder. Then, too, they could arrange things for themselves a little more comfortably since they had money.

In the fall we faced the church situation. The Mennonite Brethren Church was represented but most of our people had organized the Hoffnungsau Church of which Dietrich Gaeddert was the elder. His somewhat domineering regime was resented by some of the hard-heads like old Mr. Lohrenz and

old David Penner. Others felt they had learned to know him a little too well in everyday affairs, particularly on the long journey to America. I, as well as numerous other young people, wished to join a church. When Aunt Justina (your father's sister) and Agatha Regier announced themselves I went along. Your grandfather Regier took us three girls to call on Reverend Gaeddert. (You must not think that your father and I had a relationship already, but that developed then.) While we were there Mr. Gaeddert examined us a little to determine whether we were correctly oriented. Among other things he inquired whether we regarded sprinkling in the church or immersion in a stream as the right form of baptism. The other two girls answered at once in favor of sprinkling, but I had my doubts. We always read in the Testament about baptizing in the Jordan, so I said I didn't know. For that answer I received a scolding. There were other members in the catechism class, however, who shared my doubts. A movement developed among the young people, and nine withdrew from the class. They wanted to be baptized in the river, and I was among them. That presented a problem to the parents. If nothing were done their children would all join the Brethren Church. Since they themselves had not joined any church yet in this country because they would not submit to Mr. Gaeddert's regime, the problem could be solved by organizing a new congregation. That would satisfy both the parents and their children. So the Hebron Church was organized with Mr. Bernard Buhler as elder, and Abraham Martens, Mrs. Jacob Lohrenz, Jacob B. Dick and I were the first to be baptized into this church.

On February 23, 1880, I was married to your father. His parents belonged to the Hoffnungsau Church, but they had no objection to his union with the Hebron Church. They knew Mr. Buhler and Mr. Gaeddert very well. Grandmother Regier's first husband was a Buhler. They were fully satisfied with our marriage. And why shouldn't they have been? I was a pretty girl, and I could choose. It was mostly parents with many sons who came to this country.

For one year we lived with my parents. Then we built our own nest. That nest you all know, even though we once moved it to a different place. We had no electric lights then, no water system, or toilet. No, everything was different. I had two rooms. One had a floor, the kitchen had none. With the fuel it was on the old style. Many a time I was obliged to go into the pasture to gather cow-chips. In the meantime the little children had to be left in the house alone. But I think we were just as happy, if not happier than people are today who have learned so much and then don't know how to apply their learning.

The rest, I think, you know almost as well as I and I shall, therefore, stop here.

Mary Wall Regier.

AN AMISH MINISTER'S MANUAL

Edited from the Original Manuscript by John Umble

The recent discovery of the original manuscript of an Amish Bishop's Manual marks a red letter day in the study of Amish history. Since the discovery within the past few years of a manuscript containing instructions and formulas for the performance of certain rites and ceremonies in Amish congregations, several such copies have come to light. All of these, however, have been copies of earlier manuscripts. No originals seemed to have been preserved. The almost accidental discovery of an original manuscript once in the possession of Christian Brandt, one of the first Amish ministers in Ohio, is, therefore, a real "find." Unfortunately the manuscript bears no date.*

Several questions regarding this manuscript remain unanswered. It has not been possible to determine whether Christian Brandt or some other person brought the manuscript from Switzerland. The name of the author of the manuscript, Joseph Unzicker, does not appear on any known lists of Swiss Brethren, Mennonite or Amish ministers in Europe or America. Neither is it known when or where Joseph Unzicker lived. Christian Brandt arrived in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, in 1817 and in Wayne County, Ohio, in 1818. The late C. Z. Yoder considered Christian Brandt the first Amish minister in what is now the Oak Grove Amish Mennonite congregation. Douglas in his history of Wayne County, however, insists that the first Amish congregation in the county was organized in 1816. This would be two years before Christian Brandt's arrival in the county.

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*After the writing of the present article was completed, two other almost identical copies of the Unzicker manuscript were found among the uncatalogued materials in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College. One of them, evidently a copy of the other ones, belonged to J. F. Swartzendruber, an Amish bishop of Kalona, Iowa, who wrote a note on the fly-leaf of his copy stating that it had been copied in 1852 by Jacob Güngerich, a layman who could write well, for the use of Jacob Swartzendruber of Kalona, grandfather of J. F. Swartzendruber.

Among the uncatalogued materials in the Mennonite Historical Library have also been found four other manuscript copies of a Minister's Manual, written for the Amish church in Holland by Hanss Nafziger in 1781. The College also owns a copy of the Nafziger Minister's Manual printed in Elkhart, Indiana, in 1916 for the Amish bishop, John D. Hochstetler. The history and relationship of these manuscripts is so interesting that the editors of the REVIEW have decided to print an article describing these manuscripts in a later issue.

Other questions regarding the manuscript remain unanswered. Joseph Unzicker refers to a bishop as an *Aeltester* or *Aeltester Diener*. The Amish in America have always called their bishops either "Bischof" or *Völliger Diener*. Like the Amish of the present time, the Unzicker manuscript refers to the deacon as the *Armen-Diener*. But, on the other hand, the Amish "complete ministry to the poor," *Der Voellige Dienst zu den Armen,* they commit to an official whom they designate, *Voelliger Armen Diener*. Unzicker calls this official an *Aeltester Armen-Diener*. This use of Aeltester for Völliger is puzzling.[1]

Another problem is the ownership of this minister's manual by a minister, Christian Brandt, who was never ordained a bishop or a *Völliger Diener* in the Wayne County Church. The late C. Z. Yoder remembered him as an eighty-year old minister in the early sixties and spoke very highly of his fine Christian spirit and the witness (*Zeugniss*), which he used to give following the sermon preached by one of the other ministers at the Sunday morning service.

Description of the Manuscript

The manuscript is formed of seven folios 13 x 16 inches, of an excellent quality of water-marked book paper and folded to make a book, 8 x 13 inches. This was then covered with a 13 x 16 inch folio of heavy grayish-green, water-marked paper and back-stitched with a double thickness of heavy uncolored linen thread. The preface beginning on the recto page of the second leaf is concluded on the verso page and signed by the author. The manuscript is written on both sides of the other eleven leaves composing the book. The handwriting is nothing short of beautiful and is as legible as printed script. The lines throughout are absolutely straight, although the pages are unruled and there is no indication that the writer followed penciled guide-lines. The manuscript follows the style of books printed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in that it presents at the lower right-hand corner of the page the first word that appears at the top of the following page. The first word on each page, whether or not it begins a sentence, is written with a decorative capital letter. The book closes with a colophon "Gott allein die Ehr," underlined twice. The manuscript is still in a remarkable state of preservation.

1. See "Amish Ordination Charges," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XIII, (October, 1939), pages 233-50.

Since it has never been folded, only the cover and the edges give any evidence of wear. Some of the leaves are brown with age and slightly stained but not enough to mar the legibility of the script. The ink may have been black originally, but is now a deep brown. Although the manuscript gives evidence of careful handling, the well-thumbed margins show much use.

The manuscript is now in the possession of Enos Stuckey, of Archbold, Ohio. He received it from his mother, Mrs. Christian Stuckey (nee Lydia Wyse), who obtained it quite accidentally. After the death of Mrs. Stuckey's mother, Mrs. Peter Wyse, a daughter of Christian Brandt, of Wayne County, Ohio, members of the immediate family divided her furniture and personal belongings by holding a sort of private sale. Mrs. Stuckey purchased a cupboard. In one drawer was a lot of things which were probably termed junk—old knives and forks, hooks and eyes, etc. At the bottom of the drawer was the manuscript. When she emptied the drawer and found the manuscript, her son, Enos Stuckey, heard her exclaim, "O, this belonged to my grandfather, Christian Brandt!" No member of the family could read the German manuscript, but for sentimental reasons it was preserved, being placed within the covers of a very old German Bible bound in leather covered board, where it remained until recently when Mrs. Stuckey's granddaughter, Doris Stuckey, brought it to the attention of the writer.

The spelling of certain words in the manuscript might give a philologian some clue as to its age or the locality where it was written.

"d" frequently becomes "t"

Ard for Art
Blud for Blut
Brod for Brot
Dochter for Tochter
ford for fort
Gedult for Geduld
gegenward for gegenwart
gelden for gelten
haldet for haltet
Hud for Hut (watch)
wieder for weiter

"t" may take the place of "d"

Bruter for Bruder
durchtringlich for durchdringlich
der Tod occurs both as Tod and Todt
pretigen for predigen
unwissent for unwissend
vorkommenten for vorkommenden
worten for worden

"p" may become "b"

Abostel for Apostel
Kabitel for Kapitel

Single letters may be doubled:

tretten for treten
angeruffen for angerufen
beruffen for berufen (but anrufen)
straffe for strafe
Kapittel for Kapitel
Schrifft for schrift
Krafft for Kraft
die Gebotte for die Gebote

The German double ss may be single:

heisst is usually heist.

Single vowels may be doubled:

Naamen for Namen
Seegen for segen

The second and third person singular of the verb frequently adds an extra syllable:

führet for führt
erhöret for erhört
gedanket for gedankt
hoffest for hoffst
glaubest for glaubst
hilfest for hilfst

Umlaut ä for e:

annähmen for annehmen
gedänken for gedenken

Also "e" for umlaut ä

gezehlet for gezählt
Nechsten for Nächsten
nehmlich for nähmlich

vor may stand for für

There is one example of *nusz* for *nisz*:

Gedachtnusz for Gedächtniss (no doubt the umlaut was unintentionally omitted)

The only other misspelling is *reiflich* for *reichlich.*

The manuscript frequently confuses *dass* and *das*—the forms for the conjunction and the article.

Dagegen and *dazu* are usually *dargegen* and *darzu.*

Wann is frequently confused with *wenn.*

There is only one case of the use of *wenn* and in that particular instance *wann* might be permitted.

The Text of the Unzicker Manuscript

Vorrede

Allen Dienern und Aeltesten, welchen dieses Schreiben zuhanden kommt, Wünsche ich nebst freundlichem Grusz, die unergründliche Gnade, Liebe und Barmherzichkeit Gottes unsers Himmlischen Vaters, und den Frieden der Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi, und die Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes, Amen.

Nachdem mich mehrere Diener und Aeltesten darzu bewogen haben, um die Haupt-Artikel, die ein Aeltester-Diener zu verrichten hat, und die beÿ einem jeden derselben vorkommente Worte, pünktlich und wörtlich aufzusetzen, so habe ich dieses kleine Werk in meiner Schwachheit vorgenommen, und i[h]n soweit ausgeführt.

Da ich aber von dergleichen nichts Schriftliches in Händen habe, so habe ich mich in meinem Dienst, beÿ jedem dergleichen vorkommenten Umstand, nach meiner Schwachheit, in meinen Gedanken also gefasset, und die Haupt-Worte darbeÿ ausgesprochen, wie hernach folgt.

Wo ich aber in meiner Schwachheit, hier und da möchte gefehlet haben, so haldet mir nichts vor Ungut: und verbessert die Fehler in der Liebe, und vermehret alles, zum Preisz und Lob Gottes, dasz es uns und unseren Nachkommen, zur ewigen Freud und Seeligkeit dienen möchte, durch Jesum Christum Amen.

Von mir Euch liebenden Bruder,

Joseph Unzicker.

Erstlich wie die Täufling beÿ dem letzten Abrath zu unterrichten sind!

Es wird den Täuflingen in dem letzten Abrath alles durchtringlich vorgestellt, was Sie hier vor einen Bund machen, Gott und seiner Gemeine Sich ganz und gar ergeben, wie Sie schon inwendig mit dem Heiligen Geist und mit Feuer sollten Getauft sein und dergleichen, dann werden Sie gefragt ob Sie Glauben dasz Sie darzu geschickt und bereit wären und Ihr Begehren wäre Sie mit dem Tauf zu befördern, oder ob Sie noch wieder bauen und Grund legen wollten? worauf Sie dann zu antworten haben. Auch von

Glaubens-Gründen ist hier zu reden, welche Sie zu beantworten haben, und darauf gefragt, was gehöret dann auf einen wahren Christlichen Glauben? Worauf die Antwort geschähen soll, Tauf und Abendmahl!—Auf dasz Sie unterrichtet sein, was Sie beÿ der Taufe antworten sollen.

Hernach beÿ der Tauf.

Wann die gewöhnlichen Capitel gelesen und erkläret sind, mit noch mehr darzu schlicklichen Sprüchen und Vorträgen, so ziehet man zuletzt von Phillippus und dem Amtmann aus Mohrenland an, aus Apostel-Geschicht am 8*ten,* darnach hält man denen Täuflingen die Glaubens-Artikel vor, zwar nicht ganz nach dem vorgeschriebenen Buchstaben, Sondern man erkläret dieselben ein wenig kürzer sonst dauert es all zu lang.

Darnach wenn alles reiflich und durchdringlich vorgetragen ist, so werden Sie wie schon oben gesagt, gefragt, was gehört dann auf einen wahren Christlichen Glauben? worauf die Antwort geschähen soll, Tauf und Abendmahl! Alsdann heist man Sie in Gottes-Namen niederknien, und beÿ allen dergleichen Fällen im Niederknien, ist es schicklich, das der Aelteste Diener spricht, Dieses Knien, soll nicht geschähen vor mir, sondern vor dem allerhöchsten und allwissenten Gott und seiner Gemeinde! Alsdann werden Sie gefragt, Also glaubet ihr auch, das Jesus Christus Gottes Sohn ist, der in die Welt gekomen ist, die buszfertigen Sünder Selig zu machen? worauf die antwort Ja! geschieht, alsdann wird die Tauf verrichtet, nach der Vorschrift des Evangelio.—.

Wann die Tauf vollendet ist, so giebt man einem jeden Täufling nach dem andern die Hand, richtet Sie auf und spricht, der liebe Gott wolle das gute Werk, welches er in dir hat angefangen, auch in dir helfen vollführen, und dich darinnen Stärken und Trösten, bis zu einem Seeligen End, durch Jesum Christum Amen. Auch halte ich es nicht vor unschlicklich Ihnen den Kusz zu geben und den Frieden anzubieden.

Zweitens die Gewöhnliche Worte beÿ dem Abendmahl.

Wann man des Herren Todt verkündiget hat bis zu der Himelfahrt, so liesset man aus Evangel: Johannes am 6*ten* das gewöhnliche davon, wann also darnach die Erklärung gemacht, was das Abendmahl bedeutet, wie der Mensch sich darzu bereiten soll, und dergleichen mehr, so dasz man den Anfang mit dem Brodbrechen machen will.

So spricht man.

Unser Herr Jesus in der Nacht da er verrahten war, nahm er des Brod und hat seinem Himmlischen Vater gedanket, wir wollen ihm auch also thun mit einem ernsthaften gebet!—

Wann die Danksagung geschähen ist,
so spricht man.

Nachdem Er gedanket brach Er das Brod und gab es seinen Jüngern und sprach, Nehmet und esset das ist mein Leib, der vor euch gegeben wird, solches thut zu meinem Gedächtnusz.

Also hab ich auch im Sinn einen Anfang zu machen mit diesem Brod, und das in einer Hofnung und in einem Glauben, das Er uns durch sein bitteres Leiden und Sterben, erkauft und erlöset von dem Fluch und Fall

Adam! Auch in einer Hofnung und im Glauben, das Ihm von uns und unsern Nachkomen in Ewigkeit soll darum gedanket werden! Auch in einer Hofnung und im Glauben, dasz Er uns am jüngsten Tag wird auferwecken und mit Ihm führen in sein ewiges Himmelreich, und wer auch mit mir in solcher Hofnung stehet, der soll auch komen nach mir und essen von diesem Brod, und das zum Gedachtnisz des bittern Leiden und Sterben unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi, wie vorgetragen und gehöret ist!

Beÿ dem Trinkgefäs spricht man.

Nachdem Er das Brod gebrochen, nahm Er den Kelch und hat seinem Himlischen Vater gedanket, wir wollen ihm auch also thun mit einem ernsthaften Gebet!

Nach der Danksagung spricht man.

Nachdem Er gedanket, gab Er denselben seinen Jüngern und sprach, Nähmet hin und trinket alle daraus, das ist der Kelch des neuen Testaments in meinem Blud, welches vor Euch vergossen wird zur vergebung der Sünden; Also hab ich auch im Sinn einen Anfang zu machen mit diesem Trank, und das in einer Hofnung und in einen Glauben, dasz er uns durch sein bitteres Leiden und Sterben und unschuldiges Blud vergiesen erkauft und erlöset vom Fluch und Fall Adam! Auch in einer Hofnung und im Glauben dasz Ihm von uns und unsern Nachkommen in Ewigkeit soll darum gedanket werden! Auch in einer Hofnung und im Glauben dasz Er uns am Jüngsten Tag wird auferwecken und mit Ihm führen in sein Ewiges Himelreich! Und wer auch mit mir in solcher Hofnung stehet, der soll auch komen nach mir und Trinken von diesem Trank, und das zum Gedächtnusz des bittern Leiden und Sterben und unschuldigen Bludvergieszen unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi wie vorgetragen und gehöret ist!

Trittens beÿ der *Copulation.*

Wann die darzu gehörichen Capitel gelesen und erkläret sind, und überhaubt die darzu schicklichen Stellen im Neuen Testament angezogen worden sind, so spricht man: Weil man im Neuen Testament nichts findet, wie von jeher mit der Sache ist zu werk gegangen worden, und unser Heiland selbst diejenigen, die Ihn um der Sache halben fragten, in das alte Testament zurückgewiesen hat, so wollen wir uns auch dahin wenden: Alsdann ziehet man an, wie Gott die Ersten Menschen Mann und Weib geschaffen hat und wie zweÿerleÿ Menschen oder Völker, nehmlich die Kinder Gottes und der Kinder der Menschen oder der Welt zugleich entsprossen, und von Noah, wie da die Kinder Gottes nach den Töchtern der Menschen sahen, und nahmen zu Weibern welche Sie wollten; ohne alle furcht Gottes, welches dem Allerhöchsten miszfallen, und darum die ersten Menschen gestraft hat; Nachdem ziehet man an, dasz wir nicht also, nur nach Augen oder Fleisches-Lust sollen sehen oder Heÿraden, sondern auf Ehr und Tugend und in der Furcht Gottes, und wie diejenigen nur sollen zusammen freien, die in einer Arch des neuen Testaments, und in einem Bund zu einem Leib Getauft, und ein Brod und Abendmahl zusammen genieszen; indeme [sic!] unser Heÿland prophezeihet, dasz vor seiner Zukunft, in den letzten Zeiten die Menschen sein werden wie zu den Zeiten Noah und dergleichen mehr. Alsdann da sich die Menschen wiederum vermehrten, und böslich

und Abgöttisch lebten, so hat Gott mit Abraham einen Bund gemacht das in seinem Saamen geseegnet sollten werden alle Völker auf Erden; und gab Ihm einen Sohn in Seinem hohen Alter den nennete Er Isack, da aber Isack erwachsen war das Er sollte ein Weib nehmen, so ging Er nicht selbst freyen, sondern Abraham nahm einen Eid von seinem ältesten Hausknecht, seinem Sohn nicht ein Weib zu nehmen von den Unbeschnittenen, sondern Er sollte hinziehen zu seiner (des Abrahams) Freundschaft seinem Sohn Isack ein Weib von dannen holen.

Also das bezeiget uns, wie das ein Jüngling nicht soll selbst laufen und freien, oder wie es viele im Brauch haben und Winkel-Ehen machen oder mit theuren Worten sich versprechen, oder auf eine unehrliche Ard die Sache suchen zu bewerkstelligen. Sondern Er soll zum ersten den Höchsten anrufen, dasz der Ihm doch möchte in den Sinn geben, welche Person, Gott in seiner Vorsehung, Ihm zum Weibe möchte verordnet haben, alsdann soll der Jüngling, einem Manne welcher darzu bestimt ist seine Sache anbefehlen, und dergleichen mehr, dasz derselbe alsdann darum werbe, wie der Knecht Abrahams gethan hat, und wie sofort in der Bibel folgt. (Alles oben angeführte musz nicht ganz nach dem Buchstaben vorgetragen werden, sondern nur die angeführten Stellen, mit noch mehr darzu schicklichen Worten die auf die Ehe bezug haben.)

Alsdan wendet man sich in das Buch Tobias.

Ob dasselbe schon ein Apokriphisches Buch ist und nicht unter die Bücher der Heiligen Schrift gezehlet wird, so giebt es doch eine schöne Lehre, die den Frommen und Gottesfürchtigen sonderlich im Ehestand im Glauben stärket, und in allerley Kreuz und Trübsaale, in der Hofnung dahin führet, dasz doch Gott zuletzt das Ende mit Freuden wird beschliesen.

Alsdann fängt man an in dem Buch Tobias, und fährt darinnen fort wie bekant; doch kann man auch vieles kürzer als gerade nach dem Buchstaben fassen, auch wird sonderlich angezogen, dasz uns im alten Testament vieles in Bildern und Figuren ist vorgeschrieben, welches wir im Geist erfüllen sollten; auch sonderlich von dem Opfer ist anzuziehen, dasz niemand glauben sollte als ob wir mit solchen natürlichen Mitteln gedänken solche Werke zu verrichten, sondern wir sollen unsre Herzen dem Allerhöchsten ganz und gar ergeben und aufopfern, und in dem durch die Opfer unserer Lippen Ihn anrufen mit einem ernsthaften Gebet, so wird der böse Feind keine Macht an uns finden. Also fährt man fort im Buch Tobias bis dahin wo Reguel sprach: Ich hoffe und glaube Gott hat mein Gebet erhört;—pz:

Dann kann man die Leute mit kurzen Worten also fortern.

Und nun ihr beiden Junge (sein es witwer so läst man das Wort Junge aus) Leute wenn es euch noch so ist, wie Ihr vorhin bekännt habt, so könnt Ihr dann jetzunt in Gottes-Namen hier her tretten!

Will man die Sache ein wenig Feyerlicher anziehen so spricht man.

Und nun Ihr beiden (junge) Leute, wann Ihr auch also in eurer Hofnung, Glauben und Vertrauen, den allerhöchsten Gott also möchtet erbeten haben, das Euer herzliches Begehren ist, dasz Euer angefanges Werk nach seinem heiligen Willen und Rath vollzogen möchte werden, so könnt Ihr dann jetzunt in Gottes-Namen hierher tretten!

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Darnach wird der Bräutigam zum ersten mit Naamen gefragt wie folgt!

Du N: so will ich dich zum ersten fragen, hoffest und glaubest du auch, das der allmächtige Gott dein Gebet erhöret, und dir diese deine Mitschwester zu einem Eheweib verordnet habe? (antwort ja!)

Darnach die Braut.

Und du N: hoffest und glaubest du auch, das der allmächtige Gott dein Gebet erhöret, und dir diesen deinen Mitbruder zum einem Ehemann verordnet habe? (antwort ja!)

Dann wieder der Bräutigam.

Und du N: hoffest und glaubest du auch und bekännest vor dem allmächtigen Gott und seiner Gemeinde, mit dieser deiner Mitschwester als mit deinem von Gott verortneten Eheweib, in Liebe, Frieden und Einigkeit mit Ihr zu leben, wie das einem wahren Glaubigen, Frommen und Tugendsam̃en Ehemann zukom̃t, auch Lieb und Leid Gute Tage und trübsellige Tage, so wie Sie Euch der liebe Gott zuschicht, mit Gedult Ihren helfen tragen, und nicht von Ihr zu lassen so lange bis das Euch der Todt scheidet; Glaubest und bekennest du dasz? (antwort ja!)

Darnach die Braut.

Und du N: hoffest und glaubest du auch, und bekännest vor dem allmächtigen Gott und seiner Gemeinde, mit diesem deinem Mitbruter, als mit deinem von Gott verortneten Ehemann, in Liebe, Frieden und Einigkeit mit Ihm zu Leben, wie das einem wahren Glaubigen, Fromen und Tugendsam̃en Eheweib zukom̃t, auch Lieb und Leid, gute Tage und trübseelige Tage, so wie sie Euch der liebe Gott zuschickt, mit Gedult Ihm helfen tragen, und nicht von Ihm zu lassen, so lange bis dasz Euch der Todt scheidet; Glaubest und bekännest du dasz? (antwort ja!)

Alsdann kann man sprechen.

Dieses öfentliche und abgelegte Bekäntnisz ist gut, der liebe Gott wolle Euch von nunan und fortan eure Herzen regieren, auch solches zu erfüllen, das Euer Standt und Vorhaben dienen möchte, zu seinem Heiligen, Ewigen, Lob und Preisz, und zu Eurer Seel und Seelen Heil!

Alsdann spricht man.

Und wie wir schon haben gehört, das Reguel sprach, Ich hoffe und glaube Gott hat mein Gebet erhöret, und meine heiszen Thränen angesehen, und hat Euch darum heirher gesändt dasz meine Dochter in dieses Geschlecht vermehlet werde, und diesen Jüngling (ist Er ein Witwer so spricht man Mann:) haben soll! und nahm der Dochter die rechte Hand und gab sie dem Jüngling (oder dem Manne) an die Hand, und sprach: Der Gott Abrahams, der Gott Isacks und der Gott Jacobs, der gebe Euch zusammen, und erfülle seinen heiligen Seegen reichlich über Euch, und verbinde Euch mit rechter Ehelicher Lieb und Treu, durch Jesum Christum Amen. Nun gehet in Gottes-Namen hin.

Darnach fähret man in Buch Tobias fort, wie der Vater die Dochter in die Kamer führte, da sie gegessen und getrunken hatten, führten sie den

Tobias hinauf zu der Dochter, und Tobias dachte an die Rede des Engels, und thät das Opfer wie zu Ihm gesagt war. Dasz aber der Engel den Geist in Oberegypten geführet habe, halde ich davor kann man übergehen; sondern, erinere, wie schon oben gemeldet, wie wir dem höchsten Gott sollen Opfern mit einem ernsthaften Gebet, wie auch Tobias gethan hat, da Er sprach: Saara stehe auf und lasz uns beten, dann uns gebühret nicht die Ehe anzufangen wie die Heiden die Gott verachten, und so weider. Darnach fährt man im Buch Tobias ford, aber nicht alles nach dem Buchstaben, sondern nur die vornehmsten Punkten, bis dahin wo sich der Engel offenbahret, und von ihnen scheidet.

Viertens beÿ Erwählung der Diener.

Werden wie bekannt die Stimmen aufgenommen, nachdem wird Derjenige der die mehresten Stimmen bekommen, denen Aeltesten und Dienern gegenüber gesetzt, und Ihm angesagt, dasz Ihn die mehrsten Stimmen zu einem Diener des Worts, oder zum Buch beruffen haben. Dann werden Ihm die Glaubens-Artikel vorgehalten, in die Länge, oder auch in etwas kürzer; nach des Abostels anweisung an den Timode, dasz man die Diener zuerst soll untersuchen, darnach soll man Sie lassen dienen, wenn sie Unsträflich sein. Alsdann werden darzu schickliche Stellen aus den Propheten, Evangelien und Episteln, mit darzu schicklichen Worten angeführt: Wie die Diener in ihrem Amt geschickt sein sollen, und das Gesatz und das Evangelio helfen Lehren und Pretigen, und auch mit dem Volk zu beten, und dergleichen.

Alsdann geben Ihm die Aeltesten die Hand und allenfals auch Kusz und wünschen, dasz Ihn der liebe Gott in seinem anbefohlenen Amt und Dienst wolle stärken und trösten durch seinen Heiligen und guten Geist, durch Jesum Christum Amen.

Fünftens beÿ Bestätigung der Aeltesten.

Ist mehr wie ein angesetzter Diener, so werden die Stimmen von Ihnen durch die Gemeinde aufgenommen. Ist aber nur Einer, so wird der Gemeinde dieses Vorhaben nur vorgestellt, dasz man diesen Diener, gesonnen wäre zum Aeltesten zu Bestätigen, ob niemand nichts dargegen habe? oder wer etwas dargegen hätte könnte sich melden!

Wann also obiges geschähen ist, so setzt man Ihn wie schon gesagt, in gegenward der Gemeinde, denen Aeltesten gegenüber, alsdann wird Er an die Glaubens-Artikel erinnert mit den Worten:

Glaubest und bekännst du, dasz unsere Glaubens-Artikel wo vor du deine Knie beÿ dem Taufbund, vor Gott und seiner Gemeinde gebogen hast, und wie dieselben in der heiligen Schrifft und in unsern Glaubens-Artikeln enthalten sein, dasz es diejenige Warheit ist, die gelden und bestehen wird bis in alle Ewigkeit, glaubest und bekännest du das? (antwort ja!)

Nachdem werden Ihm aus den Propheten, darzu schicklige Stellen vorgehalten, das Er alle Zeit soll auf der Hud sein, das Volk zu warnen wo Er sehe dasz Schwert kommen! Auch zerstören und abbrechen! Auch pflanzen und bauen! Und wie Mose spricht: Wer zu seinem Vater und zu seiner Mutter sagt ich sähe Euch nicht, und zu seinem Bruder ich känne die nicht, und zu seinem Nechsten ich weisz die nicht, die haben dein Wort gehalten, die werden Jacob seine Rechte lehren und Israel dasz Gesetz! Auch was

Paulus zu den Aeltesten von Epheso spricht Apostelgeschicht am 20*ten*. Und an Timode und Titus. Und auch die Gemeinde sonderlich vermahnet, wie sie den Aeltesten sollte gehorsam sein, wie Paulus an die Epheser am 13*ten* schreibt und dergleichen mehr, das die Aeltesten die wohl vorstehen zweÿfacher Ehre und Lohns werth sein.

Wann also Obiges geschehen ist, so heist man den Diener in Gottes-Namen, nieder knien, dan tretten die Aeltesten herzu, legen die Hände auf sein Haupt und Einer spricht, Also wird dir anbefohlen, durch Händauflegen der Aeltesten in dem Namen des Allerhöchsten, und mit zustimmung seiner Gemeinde, das Amt eines Aeltesten und Vorsteher, das du das Gesatz und das Evangelium nach rechter Weisz und Ordnung sollst vortragen, Lehren und Pretigen, und mit dem Volk beten, auch in dem Glauben Unterricht geben, auch die Buszfertigen und Glaubigen nach der Bekänntnusz des Glaubens, nach des Herren Wort und Evangelium zu Taufen! Auch mit den Getauften und Glaubigen das Abendmahl zu halten! Auch die Kranken besuchen, um mit des Herren Wort und Evangelium zu trösten, Und mit Ihnen beten! Auch die *Copulationen* mit zweÿ freÿen und Glaubigen Personen zu verrichten! Auch diejenigen Glieder der Gemeinde die eine Todt-Sünde oder Laster begehen, oder sich gegen Gott und der Gemeinde Ungehorsam erzeigen, nach dem Evangelio und der Apostolischen Lehr, mit zustimmung der Gemeinde, abzusondern und in den Bann zu stellen! [The words "in den Bann zu stellen" are crossed out with a light pencil mark.] Auch diejenigen, die wieder rechte Früchte der Buse erzeigen, Ihre begangene Sünden mit dem verlohrnen Sohn bekännen und beweinen, mit Zustimmung der Gemeinde, wieder vergeben und Sie wieder in die Gemeinde auf und annähmen! Das alles wird dir anbefohlen in dem Namen des allerhöchsten Gottes, und durch die Krafft und Mitwürkung des Heiligen Geistes! Durch Jesum Christum Amen.

Alsdann giebt man Ihm die Hand und Kusz.

Sechstens beÿ Erwählung eines Armendiener

Werden die Stimmen aufgenom̃en, darnach demjenigen angesagt dasz Ihn die mehresten Stim̃en zu einem angesetzen Armendiener beruffen haben, und in der Kürze angesagt, dasz Er zur Unterstützung der Diener und Aeltesten, in Geistlichen und Zeitlichen Sachen soll helfen arbeiten! Die Allmosen empfangen und wieder an die Armen in der Gemeinde austheilen! Alsdann giebt man Ihm die Hand, und wünschet dasz Ihn der liebe Gott in seinem anbefohlenen Amt stärken und trösten wolle.

Siebentens beÿ Bestätigung eines Aeltesten-Armendiener.

Ist nur einer in der Gemeinde, so wird die Sache der Gemeinde vorgestellt, darnach eben den Dienern gegen über gesetzt, und Ihm das Vorhaben angesagt, mit mehr darzu schicklichen Reden, auch wie vorhin beÿ Bestätigung der Aeltesten kann man Ihn an die Glaubens-Artikel in der Kürze erinnern, darnach heist man Ihn in Gottes-Namen niederknien, darnach tretten die Aeltesten herzu, legen Ihm die Hände auf sein Haupt, und Einer spricht: Es wird dir anbefohlen durch Händauflegen der Aeltesten, im Namen des Allerhöchsten, und mit Zustimmung der Gemeinde, das Amt eines Aeltesten-Armendiener, dasz du die Diener und Aeltesten sollst helfen unterstützen, und mithelfen in dem Wort arbeiten! Auch zu schicklicher Zeit die Kranken

besuchen um Sie zu trösten und mit Ihnen beten! Die Allmosen empfangen und wieder an die Nothleidenten Austheilen, und alle Zeitliche Händel helfen richten und schlichten! Auch sonderlich vor Witwen und Wäysen die Sorgfalt zu tragen! Auch sonderlich auf die Ordnung in der Gemeinde die Obhut halten und handhaben! Das alles wird dir anbefohlen im Namen des Allerhöchsten, und durch die Krafft und Mitwurkung des heiligen Geistes! Durch Jesum Christum Amen.

Alsdann giebt man Ihm die Hand und Kusz.

Achtens wenn ein Gefallener wider in die Gemeinde aufgenommen wird.

So werden die darzu schicklichen Kapittel gelesen, nehmlich vom verlohrnen Sohn, und ein Stück der andern Corinther am *2ten,* und dann die Sache erkläret mit darzu schicklichen Reden: auch sonderlich führet man an Mathäi am *18ten*: vom getreuen Hirten und dem verlohrnen Schaaf, wie auch mit anführung mehrerer Busz-Psalmen. Und am schlusz finde ich schicklich aus dem *119ten* Psalm die 2 letzten Vers vorzutragen, mit den Worten: O Herr lasz doch meine Seele leben das sie dich lobe, dann ich bin wie ein verirrt und verlohrnes Schaaf, so suche doch deinen Knecht dann ich vergesse ja nicht deiner Gebotte. Und Psalm 118 den 18. u: 19ten Vers, der Herr züchtiget mich wohl, aber er giebt mich dem Todte nicht. So thut mir nun wiedrum auf die Thore der Gerechtigkeit: dasz ich dahinein gehe, und dem Herrn danke, durch seine Gnade und Barmherzigkeit.

[In the margin] Das Kapitel zu den Corinthern wird gelesen, bis dahin, Es ist uns nicht unwissent was Er im Sinn hat.

Alsdann wird derjenige mit Namen angerufen, mit den Worten: wann du auch glaubest den allerhöchsten Gott also mit einem Buszfertigen Herzen ersucht zu haben, so kannst du in Gottes-Naamen hierher tretten und niederknien!

Alsdann spricht man.

Dieses Knieen soll nicht vor mir geschähen, sondern vor dem allerhöchsten Gott und seiner Gemeinde.

Glaubest und bekännest du dann dasz du diese Straffe mit deinen Sünden verdienet hast, und dir diese straffe zur Busze mit Recht von Gott und seiner Gemeinde ist auferlegt worten? (antwort ja!)

Hoffest und glaubest du dann, dasz du dich von nunan besser vor Sünden und aller Ungerechtigkeit wollest hüte, besser, als bisher geschähen ist, und versprichst deinen Lebenswandel nach dem heiligen Evangelium, und der Apostolischen Lehr zu richten, so viel dir der liebe Gott Gnada und Krafft darzu giebt? (antwort ja!)

Hoffest und Glaubest du auch, dasz du den allerhöchsten Gott genugsam mit Thränen und Buszfertigem Herzen, und ernsthaftem Gebet möchtest angeruffen haben, das Er dir dein begangene Sünden aus Gnaden vergeben wolle? (antwort ja!)

Hoffest und Glaubest du dann das der allmächtige Gott, deine Gebete erhöret und dir deine Sünden, in dem Himmel möchte schon vergeben haben? (antwort ja!)

Alsdann giebt man Ihm die hand und spricht.

So vergebe ich dir auch im Namen des Allerhöchsten und im Namen seiner Gemeinde, durch Jesum Christum Amen!

Richtet Ihn auf und gibt Ihm den Kusz des Friedens: und heist Ihn in Gottes Namen hingehen.

Alsdann kann man mehrere Trostsprüche mit darzu schicklichen Wörten anführen.

Als im 118 Psalm, Vers 20. u: 21. Dasz ist das Thor des Herren: die Gerechten werden dahinein gehen. Ich danke dir Herr, dasz du mich demüthigest und hilfest mir wieder.

Und Psalm 116. Seÿ nun wieder zufrieden meine Seele, dann der Herr thut dir Gutes. Der Herr hat meine Seele von dem Tod geriszen, und meine Augen von den Thränen, und meinen Fusz vom Gleiten. Darum will ich wandeln vor den Herrn, im Lande der Lebendigen, so lange ich hier bin.

Auch kann man anziehen Jesaias am 38*ten*. Wie der König Hiszkia dem Herrn gedanket hat, dasz Er Ihm an seinem Leben zugesetzet hat, und dergleichen mehr.

Gott allein die Ehr!

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE UNZICKER MANUSCRIPT

Preface

To all ministers and elders to whom this writing may come to hand I wish beside a friendly greeting the unfathomable grace, love, and mercy of God our Heavenly Father and the peace of the righteousness and holiness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

After several ministers and elders prevailed upon me to set down accurately and literally the chief ceremonies which a bishop has to perform and the usual words which he is to use with each, I undertook in my weakness this little work and have accomplished it thus far.

But since I do not have a written copy of those forms, I have in my ministry, in each circumstance as it arose, according to my weakness composed in my mind and have spoken the main words as here follows.

But wherever I in my weakness may have failed here and there, do not take it amiss and in love correct the errors and make additions to the glory and praise of God so that it may serve to the eternal joy and happiness of us and of our posterity, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

From me your loving brother,
Joseph Unzicker.

First how the applicants for baptism are to be instructed in the last council:

In the last council everything is presented thoroughly to the applicants for baptism what kind of a covenant they make here to give themselves entirely to God and to his church, how they already are to have been baptized within by the Holy Ghost and with fire and so on. Then they are asked whether they believe that they are fitted and prepared for this [service] and whether it is their desire to go on with the baptism or whether they wish to build again and lay further foundation. Whereupon they are expected to answer. It is also [necessary] to speak here of the foundations of faith which they have to answer and thereupon are asked what belongs to a true Christian faith. Whereupon the answer is to be, Baptism and Communion! After this they are instructed what they are to answer at [the time of] baptism.

Afterward at Baptism

When the usual chapters have been read and explained with still other fitting words and speeches then one speaks at last of Philip and the official from Ethiopia out of the eighth chapter of Acts. Afterward one presents the articles of faith to the applicants, not entirely according to the written letter indeed, but one explains them a little more briefly, otherwise it lasts altogether too long.

Afterward when everything has been presented fully and completely then as already mentioned above they are asked what then belongs to a true Christian faith where-

upon the answer is to be, Baptism and Communion. Then one tells them to kneel down in the name of God. In all such cases of kneeling it is fitting that the bishop should say, "This kneeling is not to be before me but before the all-highest and all-knowing God and his church." Then they are asked, "You also believe then that Jesus Christ is the Son of God who has come into the world to save repentant sinners?" Whereupon the answer is, "Yes." Then baptism is administered according to the commandment of the Gospel.

When the ceremony of baptism is ended, then one extends his hand to one applicant after the other, raises them up and says, "May the dear God who has begun this good work in you also help to complete it in you and to strengthen and comfort you therein to a blessed end, through Jesus Christ, Amen." Also I do not consider it unfitting to give them the kiss [of fellowship] and to wish them peace.

Second, the usual words at Communion

After one has narrated the account of the death of our Lord until the Ascension, then he reads from the Gospel the usual part of the sixth chapter of John. Then also afterward an explanation is made of what the communion signifies, how a person is to prepare himself for it and so on and that one [the presiding bishop] intends to make the beginning with the breaking of bread.

Then one says, "Our Lord Jesus in the night when he was betrayed took the bread and thanked his Heavenly Father. We wish to do likewise with an earnest prayer."

After the prayer of thanksgiving then one says

After he had given thanks he broke the bread and gave it to his disciples and said, "Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me." Accordingly I also intend to make a beginning with this bread and this in the hope and in the belief that he through his bitter suffering and death has purchased and redeemed us from the curse and fall of Adam. Also in the hope and in the confidence that he will be thanked for this by us and our posterity forever. Also in the hope and in the faith that he will raise us up at the last day and lead us with him into his everlasting kingdom. And whoever stands with me in such a hope let him also come after me and eat of this bread and this in memory of the bitter suffering and death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as has been set forth in your hearing.

With the cup one says

After he had broken bread he took the cup and thanked his Heavenly Father. Let us also thank him with an earnest prayer!

After the thanksgiving one says

After he had given thanks, he gave the cup to his disciples and said, "Take it and drink all ye of it. This is the cup of the New Testament in my blood which was shed for you for the forgiveness of sins." Accordingly, I also intend to make a beginning with this drink and this in the hope and in the faith that he by his bitter suffering and death and by the shedding of his innocent blood has purchased and redeemed us from the curse and fall of Adam. Also in the hope and in the confidence that he will be thanked for this by us and our posterity forever. Also in the hope and in the faith that he will raise us up at the last day and lead us with him into his everlasting kingdom. And whoever stands with me in such a hope let him come after me and drink of this drink and this in memory of the bitter suffering and death and innocent shedding of the blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as has been set forth in your hearing.

Third at the wedding

When the chapters belonging to this ceremony have been read and explained and especially the fitting passages in the New Testament have been brought in, then one says, "Because one finds nothing in the New Testament how from the beginning this ceremony was performed and our Saviour himself pointed those who had asked him in regard to this matter back to the Old Testament, so we will also turn thither." Then one brings in how God created the first people man and wife and how two kinds of nations or races, namely, the children of God and the children of men or of the world, arose at the same time. And [one also narrates the story] of Noah how at that time the children of God looked at the daughters of men and took to wife whomever they

would without any fear of God. This displeased the All-Highest and for this reason he punished the first race of men. Afterward one brings in that we should not look or marry, as they did, according to the lust of the eyes or the lust of the flesh, but according to honor and virtue and in the fear of God and how only those should celebrate this ceremony together who are in one ark of the New Testament and have been baptized into one body in one covenant and have eaten together one bread in communion. Because our Saviour prophesied that before his return in the last times the people would be like in the times of Noah and so on. Then after the race of men had increased again and had lived evilly and unholily, then God made a covenant with Abraham that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. And then in his advanced age he gave him a son whom he called Isaac. But when Isaac was grown so that he ought to take a wife, he did not himself go courting; but Abraham took an oath from his oldest house servant not to take a wife for his son from the uncircumcised but he was to go to his (Abraham's) relatives to bring from thence a wife for his son, Isaac.

Accordingly this shows us how a youth should not run and go courting himself, as is the practice among many who make a secret marriage or promise themselves with endearing words, or seek to bring the matter about in a dishonest fashion but that he first pray to the Highest that he by all means might put in his mind which person God in his providence might have ordained to be his wife. Then the youth is to commit his affair to a man who is designated for that and similar work and who may then do the courting as the servant of Abraham did and so on as follows in the Bible. (Everything mentioned above might not be presented exactly according to the letter but only the points which have been brought out with still other fitting remarks and passages which have reference to marriage.)

Then one turns to the book of Tobit.

Even though this is an apocryphal book and is not counted among the books of Holy Writ, still it presents a beautiful lesson which strengthens the faith of the pious and the God-fearing especially in the marriage state and in all kinds of crucial tests and sorrows leads him on in the hope that God at last will bring everything to a happy conclusion.

Then one begins in the book Tobit and continues in that as is well-known. But one may also make it much shorter than exactly according to the letter. Also will be brought in especially that much is presented for us in the Old Testament in images and figures which we are to fulfill in the spirit. And especially in regard to the sacrifice it is to be observed that no-one is to believe that we are to carry on such activities with such material means, but we are to present and offer up our hearts entirely to the All-Highest, and call on him through the offering of our lips with an earnest prayer. Then the Evil One cannot have any power over us. One continues in the book Tobit to the place where Raguel speaks, "I hope and believe God has heard my prayer"—p z:

Then one may briefly address the bride and groom with the words: "And now you two young (if they are widow or widower then one leaves out the word young) people if your intentions still remain as you earlier acknowledged, then you may now come forward in the name of God.

If one wishes to carry this matter on in a somewhat more ceremonious manner, he says, And now you two (young) people, if you also have prayed to the All-Highest God in your hope, faith and trust that your heartfelt desire, that this undertaking which you have begun, may be completed according to his Holy Will and counsel then you may now come forward in the name of God.

Afterward the bridegroom is asked first by name as follows

You N. I will first ask you, do you hope and do you also believe that Almighty God has heard your prayer and has ordained this your sister to be your wife? (Answer, "Yes!")

Afterward the bride

And you N. [the name] do you hope and also believe that Almighty God has heard your prayer and has ordained this your brother to be your husband? (Answer, "Yes!").

Then again the bridegroom

And you N. do you hope and also believe and do you promise before Almighty God and his church to live with this your sister in love, peace, and unity, as with your

God-ordained wife, as is fitting for a truly believing, pious, and virtuous husband? Also with patience to help her bear love and sorrow, good days and sorrowful days, as the dear God will send them to you, and not leave her until death parts you? Do you believe and profess this? (Answer, "Yes!").

Afterward the bride

And you N. do you hope and do you also believe and promise before Almighty God and his church to live with this your brother in love, peace, and unity as with your God-ordained husband, as becomes a genuinely believing, pious, and virtuous wife? Also with patience to help him bear love and sorrow, good days and sorrowful days, as the dear God will send them to you, and not to leave him until death parts you? Do you believe and profess this? (Answer, "Yes!").

Then one might add

This public and acknowledged confession is good. May the dear God now and henceforth rule your hearts to bless you so that all your walk and activity may serve to his holy, eternal, praise and glory and to the good and salvation of your souls.

Then one says

And as we have already heard that Raguel said, "I hope and believe God has heard my prayer, and has regarded my hot tears, and has sent you here so that my daughter may be married into this race and that she should have this youth, (if he is a widower one says man) and took his daughter by the hand and gave her to the youth (or to the man) and said, The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob unite you and bestow his holy blessing richly upon you and bind you together with true marital love and faith through Jesus Christ, Amen. Now depart in God's name.

Afterward one continues in the book of Tobit how the father led the daughter into the upper chamber. When they had eaten and drunken, they led Tobias up to the daughter and Tobias thought of the advice of the angel and made an offering as he had been told to do. But I maintain that one can pass over that portion relating how the angel had led the spirit into Upper-Egypt, but remind them, as has been mentioned above, how we are to make an offering to the Highest God with an earnest prayer, as Tobias did when he said, "Sarah, arise and let us pray, for it is not fitting for us to begin marriage like the heathen who hold God in contempt" and so on. Afterward one continues in the book of Tobit but not everything according to the letter, merely the most important points to the place where the angel manifests himself and departs from them.

Fourth, at the ordination of ministers

The votes are taken in the known manner. Afterward the one who has received the most votes is seated opposite the bishops and ministers and he is told that the most votes have called him to be a Minister of the Word or to the Book. Then the articles of faith are rehearsed for him at length or also in somewhat briefer form, then according to the Apostle's admonitions to Timothy that one should first try the ministers, then afterward let them serve if they are blameless. Then fitting portions are presented from the Prophets, the Gospels and Epistles with suitable words, how the ministers should be skilled in their office and help teach the Law and the Gospel and preach and also to pray with the people and such like.

Then the bishops give him their hand, and kiss, and wish for him that the dear God, in the office and ministry committed to him, would strengthen and comfort him by his Holy and good Spirit through Jesus Christ, Amen.

Fifth, at the Confirmation of Elders [or bishops]

If there is more than one ordained minister, then the vote of the congregation is taken by them. But if there is only one, then this matter is presented to the church that the bishops intend to confirm this minister as a bishop. Whether anyone has anything against it? Or whoever has anything against it, he could make it known!

After the above has been done, then one seats him as already said, opposite the bishops in the presence of the Church. Then he is reminded of the articles of faith with these words:

Do you believe and profess that our articles of faith on whose account you bowed your knees before God and his church at the time of your baptismal covenant and

how these are contained in the Holy Scriptures and in our articles of faith, that the same is the truth which will be in effect and stand through all eternity. Do you believe and acknowledge this? (Answer, "Yes!").

Afterward fitting passages are presented to him out of the prophets that he should be on the look-out at all times to warn his people whenever he shall see the sword coming! Also to pull down and to break off! Also to plant and to build! And as Moses says, "Whoever says to his father and to his mother, I do not see you and to his brother, I do not know you and to his neighbor, I do not recognize you, these have kept your word. They will teach Jacob his judgments and Israel the law!" Also what Paul speaks to the leaders at Ephesus, Acts 20. And to Timothy and Titus. And the church should especially be admonished how they are to be obedient to the elders as Paul writes to the Ephesians in the thirteenth chapter and so on, that those bishops who preside over their congregations well are worthy of two-fold honor and reward.

When accordingly the foregoing has been done, then one asks the minister to kneel down in the name of God. Then the bishops step to him, lay their hands on his head, and one says, "Thus, there is committed to you through the laying on of hands by the bishops in the name of the All-Highest and with the consent of his church, the office of elder and superintendent. You are to hold forth the law and the Gospel according to the correct manner and order and to teach and to preach and to pray with the people and also to give instruction in the faith. Also to baptize the penitent and believing on their confession of faith according to the Word and Gospel of our Lord! Also to hold communion with the baptized and believing! Also to visit the sick in order to comfort them with the Word and the Gospel of our Lord and to pray with them! Also to perform the marriage ceremony between two free and believing persons. Also to excommunicate and to put under the bann according to the Gospel and the teaching of the apostles with the voice of the church, those members of the church who have committed a sin unto death or an evil deed or who have shown themselves disobedient toward God and the church [the words "to place under the bann" are crossed out with a light pencil mark in the text], also to forgive and to receive again into the church those who show the right fruits of repentance and who with the Prodigal Son acknowledge and repent of their past sins. All this is committed to you in the name of the All-Highest God and through the power and the help of the Holy Spirit! Through Jesus Christ Amen." Then one gives him the hand and kiss.

Sixth, at the choosing of a Minister to the Poor (a deacon)

After the votes have been taken then the one [who is elected] is told that the most votes have called him to be an ordained minister to the poor and briefly he is told that he is to help to work in support of the ministers and bishops in spiritual and temporal matters! To receive alms and to distribute them again to the poor in the church. Then one gives him his hand and expresses a wish that the dear God may strengthen and comfort him in the office committed to him.

Seventh, at the Ordination of an Elder-Minister to the Poor (or Bishop-Deacon)[1]

If there is only one [deacon] in the congregation, then the matter is presented to the congregation. Afterward he is seated opposite the ministers and the matter in hand explained to him with suitable comments. Also, as above-mentioned in connection with the confirmation of an elder, one can remind him briefly of the articles of faith. Afterward he is told to kneel in the name of God. Then the elders step up to him, lay their hands on his head and one of them says, "The office of an Elder-Minister to the Poor is committed to you through the laying on of hands of the bishops in the name of the All-Highest and with the approval of the church. You are to help support the ministers and bishops and to assist in (the reading and preaching of) the Word! Also at fitting times to visit the sick in order to comfort them and to pray with them! You are to receive the alms and distribute them again to the needy and to help adjust matters and to settle differences in all temporal things. Also especially to care for widows and orphans. Also, especially, to have oversight over the regulations of the church and to be responsible for their enforcement! All this is committed to you in the name of the All-Highest and through the power and assistance of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ, Amen."

Then one gives him the hand and kiss.

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1. For a discussion of this official and his duties, see *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, "Amish Ordination Charges," XIII (October, 1939), pp. 237-250 *passim*.

Eighth, When a fallen member is again received into the church

The chapters suitable to the occasion are read, namely that of the Prodigal Son and a part of II Corinthians 2, and then the matter is explained with suitable remarks. Also one brings in especially Matthew 18. Then the passage concerning the faithful Shepherd and the lost sheep and also several Penitential Psalms. And at the end I find it fitting to discourse on the last two verses of the 119th Psalm with the words, "Oh Lord, let my soul live so that I may bless thee, for I am like a wayward and lost sheep. Seek thou thy servant for I do not forget thy commandments." And Psalm 118, verses 18 and 19, "The Lord chastises me indeed but he hath not given me over unto death. So open again for me the gates of righteousness so that I may go in thereat and thank the Lord through his grace and mercy."

[In the margin: the chapter to the Corinthians is read as far as the words, It is not unknown to us what he has in mind (II Cor. 2:11b "denn uns ist nicht unbewusst, was er im Sinn hot")].

Then the erring one is addressed by name with the words, If you believe that you have sought the All-Highest God with a penitent heart, then you may come forward and kneel in the name of God.

Then one says

This kneeling is not to be before me, but before the All-Highest God and his church.

Do you believe and acknowledge that you have deserved this punishment on account of your sins and that for your repentance this punishment was laid upon you justly by God and the church? (Answer, "Yes!")

Do you hope and believe then that you may be able to guard yourself better henceforth against sin and all unrighteousness, better than has happened previously, and do you promise to adjust your daily walk according to the Holy Gospels and the teaching of the apostles insofar as the dear God gives you grace and power thereto? (Answer, "Yes!")

Do you hope and also believe that you have called prevailingly and sufficiently on the All-Highest God, with tears and a penitent heart and earnest prayer, that he would through his grace forgive you your past sins? (Answer, "Yes!")

Do you hope and believe then that Almighty God has heard your prayer and may already have forgiven you your sins in heaven? (Answer, "Yes!")

Then one gives him the hand and says.

So I also forgive you in the name of the All-Highest and in the name of his church through Jesus Christ, Amen.

He raises him up and gives him the kiss of peace and tells him to depart in the name of God.

Then one may bring in several comforting verses, accompanied by fitting words.

As in the 118th Psalm, verses 20 and 21, "This is the gate of the Lord; the just will go in thereat. I thank thee, Lord, that thou hast humbled me and hast helped me again."

And Psalm 116, "Now be satisfied again, my soul, for the Lord does you good. The Lord has delivered my soul from death and mine eyes from tears and my foot from slipping. Therefore I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living so long as I am here." One may also bring in Isaiah 38, how King Hezekiah thanked the Lord that he had extended his life, and so on.

To God alone the honor.

The beauty and delicacy of the Unzicker manuscript can be better appreciated by comparing it with other similar documents. This manuscript is outstanding in two respects. One is in regard to the marriage ceremony. The Unzicker manuscript has due regard for the sensitive feelings of the parties to the marriage, especially the bride. It is not unusual for the Amish bishop in performing the marriage ceremony to go into such great detail in regard to the story of Tobit as to bring deep blushes to the cheeks of the bride. The Un-

zicker manuscript also shows a tender regard for the feelings of an erring member, who has been restored to the church.

The superiority of the Unzicker manuscript over other similar forms is well brought out by a comparison with a manuscript written to the Holland Mennonite churches by Hanss Nafziger from Essingen on March 26, 1781. A group of Amish emigrants from Switzerland had gone to Holland some time prior to 1765 and had suffered division on account of disunion among the ministers. They had then written to South Germany for information on four points. First, they wished to be instructed in the matter of baptism and the articles of faith which were presented to applicants for baptism and the words which the bishop used at baptism. Second, they wished to know how the marriage ceremony was performed; third, how ministers and elders were confirmed in their ministry; and, fourth, whatever other congregational customs the South Germans had for conducting matters in the church. The manuscript sent to the Holland churches by Hanss Nafziger was copied at Beisenhoffen by Peter Unzicker in the year 1836, and has been preserved in a fifty-eight page manuscript pamphlet which is now the property of the Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College.[1]

The Nafziger forms agree in all essential respects with those written by Joseph Unzicker in the manuscript printed above. Hanss Nafziger, however, deals with the marriage ceremony in great detail. His account of the marriage ceremony covers over fourteen pages of closely written manuscript. He recites most of the book of Tobit and deals quite too intimately with many of the details and applications of the book. The Nafziger manuscript is important in one respect, however. It deals more in detail with forms and ceremonies than does the Unzicker manuscript. In the matter of baptism, for instance, it gives the exact method of administering the rite. The following is taken from page twelve of the thirty-eight page Naf-

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1. The original of the letter of Hanss Nafziger which is copied in this manuscript booklet by Peter Unzicker in 1836 has been translated and printed in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* by Dr. Ernst Correll. See *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* II, (July, 1928), 200-204.

It became customary for Amish writers (copyists) who copied the Hanss Nafziger manuscript, which contains a Minister's Manual as well as the letter, to append to it copies of the resolutions passed by all or some of the 1568, 1607, 1630, and 1779 conferences of the Swiss Brethren or of the Amish. The resolutions passed by the 1568, 1607, and 1630 conferences were printed and translated in the first issue of the REVIEW. See H. S. Bender's article, "The Discipline Adopted by the Strassburg Conference of 1568," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* I, No. 1 (January, 1927), 57-66.

ziger manuscript, to which had been added certain other historical matters relating to the Holland churches and also the Strasburg ministers' conference held in 1568.

Nafziger's instructions for administering the rite of water-baptism may be briefly summarized as follows:

After the usual scriptures have been read, John 3 and Romans 6, the presiding bishop reviews Peter's sermon at Pentecost and asks the applicants to kneel. The presiding bishop then relates the incident of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch and asks the applicant whether he believes with his whole heart that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and that God raised Him from the dead, and also whether it is his determination to obey God and the church even unto death. The expected answer to each of these questions is a simple affirmative —"Yes!" Then the manuscript continues:

So ihnen dann ihr Haubt entbläset ist Jüngling oder Jungfrau, so Hält der Aelteste Diener seine Hände aufs Haupt, und ein bestättigter Diakon Diener giesst das Wasser auf seine Hände dann ernent i[h]n der Diener mit Namen und spricht: auf deinen bekenten Glauben den du bekent hast wirst du getauft im Namen Gottes des Vatters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes. Dan Langet Ihm der Diener die Hand, richtet ihn auf und beut ihm den Frieden an und spricht: Der Herr wolle das gute Werk das er in dir angefangen hatt, vollführen bisz zu einem Seeligen Ende durch Jesum Christum, amen. und lasset ihn in Gottes Namen Hingehen. Sollte aber kein Bestattiger [sic] Diakon Diener Vorhanden sein, so kann auch ein unbestättigter Diener das Taufwasser, dem Altesten auf Händ [sic] giesen.

After his head is uncovered, youth or maiden, then the elder lays his hand on the (applicant's) head and a confirmed deacon-minister pours the water on his hands. Then the minister names the applicant by name and says: "On your confessed faith which you have confessed, you are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Then the minister extends his hand to the applicant, raises him up, offers him [the kiss of] peace and says: "May the Lord accomplish to a happy end the good work which he has begun in you through Jesus Christ, Amen." And bids him go forth in the name of God. But if no confirmed deacon-minister is present, then an unconfirmed minister may pour the baptismal water on the bishop's hands.

The Nafziger manuscript also contains some interesting matters regarding the preliminaries necessary for the wedding of two members of the church. Following is a free translation of the Nafziger manuscript beginning on page 14:

In regard to the marriage ceremony. First, we do not permit an unbelieving person to marry, but he must be a member of the church, who has received the Christian faith and baptism and is not a sinful person or one who has been separated from the church or put out. He who wishes to be married is supposed to have first called on the Lord about it and then to have consulted his parents. And if it is practical, he is also to have consulted with

a minister or bishop. Then a deacon (Diakon) is to make the proposal for him. And if there is no deacon in the congregation, this may be done by some other minister who is to bring him the answer. This is according to the example of Eleazer, Abraham's servant. Then when the time appointed for the wedding arrives, a bishop asks the deacon whether the affair has been carried on according to the regulations and whether there is nothing else to hinder the wedding. Then the two persons are taken into council (Abrath) and asked whether they still intend with the help of the Lord to enter the marriage state with each other, and whether there is nothing to hinder the ceremony and whether they have also sought earnestly to ask the Lord's help in their undertaking. Then if nothing is found to prevent going on with the ceremony and if they pray to the Lord for help, then our articles of faith are briefly presented to them. Then if they accept these articles of faith and if they are ready to proceed in this undertaking, they are told that we do not recognize separation except in case of adultery or death. They are told to think it over well while they are still free, and so on.

Then at the time of the wedding ceremony in the church, after the first prayer in the meeting [the regular church service], the nineteenth chapter of Matthew is read so far as it deals with marriage. And then the twenty-second verse of the seventh chapter of Corinthians and then in Ephesians, the fifth chapter. And afterward this is explained and the contents rehearsed. Then the minister says: Because we do not have very much in regard to marriage in the New Testament so we turn to the Old Testament because Christ our Lord directs us to the Old Testament in the nineteenth chapter of Matthew where he says: Have you not read that in the beginning when God created man, he made them man and woman. Then we find that Abraham, the father of all believing, said to the oldest servant of his house, You shall not take a wife for my son from among the daughters of the Canaanites in whose land I live, but go to my fatherland and to my friends and take from thence a wife, etc. The minister then continues with the story of Abraham's servant and his winning of a wife for Isaac.

It is on these grounds that the Amish base their method of proposing marriage. The young man is not to make the proposal himself, but through the deacon or a minister in the church. The Nafziger manuscript continues with a very complete summary of the book of Tobit. After most of the book of Tobit has been recited and explained, then the actual ceremony takes place.

The Nafziger manuscript continues as follows:

After these words they are questioned as follows: If it is still the desire of you two persons as you have previously made known, you may now come forward. Then the minister says: These two persons intend with the help of the Lord to enter the marriage state. It is customary for the world to announce the wedding the first, the second and the third time. This, however, is not customary with us, but the minister says if anyone has anything against this wedding he should make it known. Then the minister is silent for a moment. Then if no-one has anything to say, he says: Let us hope that there is no-one, and continues and speaks to the man by name: Have you asked in prayer that this sister should be given to you in marriage? (Answer, "Yes!")

And is it your intention to remain true to her and not to leave her and not to part from her until death shall part you? (Answer, "Yes!") Then he says to the woman: Can you also declare that you have asked in your prayer that this your brother should be given to you in marriage? (Answer, "Yes!") And do you intend to be faithful to him and not to leave him nor to separate from him until death shall part you? (Answer, "Yes!")

At this point the manuscript, without announcing that the marriage ceremony is complete, continues: "Then the minister says, Note what the angel told Tobit."

He then continues for six pages more to narrate the story of the marriage of Tobit. At the conclusion of the story of Raguel after the angel leaves them, this part of the manuscript closes with the words: "Then in addition the object of marriage is explained," leaving the reader in doubt just at what point the ceremony ends.

The Nafziger manuscript is interesting further for the detailed instructions for the ordination of ministers. Nafziger writes:

After the brotherhood has been several times admonished to pray the Lord of the harvest with fasting and prayer for faithful laborers in His harvest. Then when the ministers have held a council among themselves and with the church, then they take the vote in the church of the brethren and sisters. As soon then as the meeting is dismissed, before the congregation separates, those who have been voted for are called forward before the ministers and the articles of faith and the congregational practices are explained to them and they are asked whether they accept them. Answer "Yes." Then the baptismal vows which they made before God and the church are rehearsed to them and so on. Then the one who has received the majority of votes, the minister names by name and says, "Now because the majority of votes have fallen upon you, we commit the ministry of the book to you in the name of the Lord and in the name of the church. You are to admonish the people with the word of the Lord. You are also to lead them in prayer, to visit, care for and comfort the widows and orphans. You are to have charge of matters of church regulations. You are to help the elders to build the church and to punish offenders as a true laborer in the work of the Lord, and so on." Thereupon he gives him the right hand and says, "May the Lord help you and be with you." Then when he (the newly ordained minister) has had a probationary period (eine zeit lang in der Prob gestanden), and after he has been found worthy by the ministers and the church and has received the majority of votes to confirm him in his ministry, he is called before the elders, after meeting, and in the presence of the congregation our articles of faith and congregational practices are rehearsed to him and he is asked whether he still professes these and answers with yes. Then he kneels before the elders and two elders to the book (Aeltesten zu Buch) and a confirmed deacon (ein bestätiger zu Armen) lay their hands on his head. Then the bishop (der Aelteste Diener) says, "In the name of the Lord and in the name of the church, the ministry to the book is fully committed to you (dir der Dienst zu Buch vollig [sic] befohlen) to minister to the church with teaching, administer baptism, communion, feet-washing, marriage, the bann

and regulations, to receive and accept the penitent, to excommunicate the evil-doers and disobedient from the church, then also to commit the ministry to others according to the regulations as a true and watchful house-father in the House of God, according to the content of the Holy Gospel and of your calling, and so on."

But when a minister to the poor is to be ordained, then he is to be dealt with according to the above-mentioned regulations as far as this word, "In the name of the Lord and in the name of the church, the ministry to the poor is committed to you that you shall receive alms and distribute them, according to the regulations, to the poor saints and the needy. With the council of the ministers and the elders to visit the needy, the widows and orphans, to make arrangements for single people who seek to marry and to serve them, to help the elders with disciplinary matters or with the government. Do not merely let such matters pass but serve the church according to your calling. But if there is a confirmed deacon-minister (bestattigter Diakon-Diener) in the same church, then he is to receive the alms and to give an account of them."

But if he is to be confirmed in the deacon ministry (im Diakon dienst bestättigt werden), it is to be with the counsel of the ministers and the church. Then the articles of faith and the congregational practices are presented to him again and he is asked whether he still holds to them. Answer "Yes." Then he is asked whether he also wishes to stay by these articles and congregational practices. Answer "Yes." Then he is called before the elders and kneels down and two elders and a deacon-minister lay their hands on his head and the minister says, "N., in the name of the Lord and in the name of the church you are confirmed in your ministry," and the above-mentioned points are rehearsed to him also, and so on. And further also that it is also in his calling to be observant of the teaching and the sermon whether it has been explained correctly according to God's word and the true regulations and to give testimony to it. If the minister has failed in something in his teaching, then he shall in love set him right and bring him back to the right regulations. But he is to do this at home so that the minister may not be embarrassed before the congregation.

But if there is no confirmed minister (bestattigter Diener) in the church, then an ordained minister (der Angesetzte Diener) who has heard this error or mistake or has seen it, he should remind this minister in love and meekness and correct him.

One reason for Hanss Nafziger's explicit directions to the Amish churches in Holland is that they had had considerable difficulty. They had serious differences (in grossen Streit gekommen) on account of the lack of unity among the ministers. This condition had persisted for six years or more. During this time they had held no communion services, had received no young people into the church, had held no baptismal services, and had performed no marriage ceremonies. Consequently so many disorders had arisen that many young people had gone out into the world and through this had caused much sadness in the church. It was to correct these irregularities that the church in the south (im Oberlande) had sent in 1765 a committee

of ministers to attempt to adjust the difficulties. This committee was "Christian Gingrich von Hünighausen im Waldekischen," "Jacob Holly von Mülhausen im Zweybrükischen," "Hanss Nafziger von Essingen bei Landau." When they attempted to take a vote on certain matters, they found that the majority would vote contrary to the accepted regulations of the church. But they kept the matter from coming to a vote and handled the situation with such prudence that at the end of their nine-weeks' visit, a large number of the members wished them to conduct communion. The committee, however, felt that it would be better to postpone the observance of communion until the following year. In 1766, then, a new committee visited the brethren in Holland (die Hollendische Schweizer Gemeind), to administer the ordinances and to ordain ministers. This committee was "Hanss Richen von Mumpelgard," "Jacob Rüb aus dem Prissgau," "Jacob Goldschmid von Markirch," and "Christian Gingerich von Steinfels bei Weisenberg im Elsas." This committee observed communion with them and ordained ministers. The church in the Oberland also sent a bishop (ein erstatigter [sic] Diener), "Hanss Hübscher" of the Weissenberger congregation. He with Abraham Laufer, Peter Reihen, David Reihen, Daniel Reihen, Christian Stutzman, and Christian Burg, were to help to serve the churches and to maintain order (haushalten). In 1770, Jacob Kupferschmid von Salm aus dem Elsas, "Christian Yoder von Rosental in der Pfaltz," "Hanss Nafziger von Essingen bei Landau," were sent to confirm several Holland ministers and to see how they did. The manuscript by Hanss Nafziger was dated eleven years later, March 26, 1781.

The Nafziger manuscript is interesting for the light which it throws on the manner of conducting the ordinances. Nafziger probably went into such great detail because he felt that the Holland church needed such complete instructions. The method of baptism and the details of the marriage ceremony are explained more fully in Nafziger's manuscript than in any other yet discovered. The period of probation for ministers also is not mentioned in any other available manuscript. The name, Diakon, as applied to the deacon or minister to the poor, likewise is found in no other available manuscript. It is unusual also to find the expression "bestätigter Diener" in an Amish manuscript. The Nafziger manuscript agrees with the Unzicker manuscript, once the property of the Amish minister, Christian Brandt, in speaking of the bishop as elder (der Aelteste).

UNPUBLISHED SIXTEENTH CENTURY LETTERS OF THE HUTTERIAN BRETHREN, II*

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Letter IV

Die Epiſtel vom Jacob Huetter an die gefangnen Zue Hohenwart·

This letter, comprising fols. 146r-163r of Cod. I. 87708, was written by Jacob Huter (Huet[t]er, Hutter) in Auspitz, Moravia, in 1534. It is addressed to Bastl Glaser and his followers of whom the Hutterian Chronicle gives the following account: "Mittler zeit [1534] iſt auch ein Brueder mit Namen Baſtl Glaſer/mit eim volck im oberland abgefertiget/zu der Gemain zu Ziehen/als ſie aber Inn Öſterreich in ein dorff genannt Hohenwart ankommen/ſind ſie gefanngen worden/Welchen d[er$_6$] Jacob Hueter ein ſchöne tröſtliche Epiſtel hat Zu geſchriben/die noch verhannden iſt. Sein darnach geen Egenburg gefüert/da hat man Inen durch die Backen gebrennt/vnd ſie geen laſſen" (*Die älteste Hutterische Chronik,* fol. 107:102v); cf. also Wolkan, *op. cit.,* pp. 105-106, where an excerpt from the following letter will be found.

For more recent biographical data concerning Jacob Huter cf. Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II: 375-378 (1931). It may here be briefly recalled, however, that Jacob, named Huter after his trade as a hatter (cf. MHG *huoter* 'Hutmacher; hatter'), was born in Moos, a hamlet near St. Lorenzen in the Puster Valley in Tirol. After having been engaged in fruitful proselyting in Welsperg and other Tirolean towns, from which he repeatedly sent smaller groups to the Hutterian colony in Austerlitz after 1529, he himself arrived in Moravia August 11, 1533, for an intended permanent stay. He had been ordained a "Dienner des worts gottes" on one of his three previous visits to Moravia; soon after his arrival in 1533 he was chosen head pastor, *Vorsteher,* of the Hutterian Brotherhood, which by this time had established several common households, *Bruderhöfe.* Through Huter's efforts strict discipline and order were maintained, particularly in respect to the community of goods. When he, after an abundantly vicissitudinous life, was burned at the stake in Innsbruck in 1536, the brethren resolved to call themselves the Hutterian brethren: "Er [Huter] hat die Gmain in das dritte Jar geregiert/vnd dem Herren ſein volck verſamlet/erbaut/vnd hinder Im gelaſſen. Von diſem Jacob Hueter hat die gemain den Hueteriſchen Namen ererbt/das man ſie die Hueteriſchen Brüeder genennt hat/Deß ſie ſich auff den heutigen tag nit ſchambt/Denn er iſt der warhait mit aller fraidigkait bis in todt beÿgeſtannden/darob leib vnd leben gelaſſen/Wies allen Apoſtlen Chriſti gmainclich ganngen iſt beÿ der welt" (*Die älteste Hutterische Chronik,* fol. 118:110v); cf. also Wolkan, *op. cit.,* p. 119.

*By accident the caption of Letter III, on page 23 of the first installment of these Letters published in the January, 1941, issue of the Review, was omitted. It is here supplied: *Ein Sendtbrüef võ Ludwig Fest· Der Gmain gottes zu Rottenburg am Ÿn:·*

[146r] *Jacob ein dienner Jeſu* Chriſtÿ/ſambt andern diennern vnd der Gantzen Gmain/Den Gefangnen In Chriſto Jeſu Zu Hohenwart[1]/

Die vnauſſprechlich Gnadt vnnd Barmhertzigkait von got dem himliſchen vatter/wünſchen wir euch on vnnderlaß/von gantzem Abgrundt[2] hertzens/Durch vnſern Herren Jeſum Chriſtum Amẽ/ *Gebenedeit* ſei Got der Vatter durch Jeſum Chriſtum vnſern Lieben [146v] Herren/Der vns wirdig gemacht hat Zu Leiden vmb ſeines aller heilligeſten vnd großmechtigen Namens willen/Vnd der vns beruefft[3] hat von der Grauſſamen Finſternus diſer Argen vnd ellenden Welt/Vnd hat vns angenomẽ zu der Gemainſchafft aller Auſſerwelten heilligen zu der himliſchen Burgerſchafft/vnd zu der ſcharen viler Tauſendt englen/Got helff vnns das Zil erlangen/durch ſein[4] heilligen namen/Vnd durch vnſern Lieben herren/Jeſum Chriſtum zu Lob ſeiner herrligkait Amen.

Ir auſſerwelten vnnd hertzaller Liebſten geſchwiſtriget[5]/wir haben gehörtt vnd verſtanden/Vnd in der warhait erfaren/Wie wol [147r] mit Groſſem ſchmertzen vnd trauren/das ir ·(·aber doch vmb der Warhait willen·) gefangen Ligt/Nun Aber wiſſen wir nit/wie es vmb euch ſteet/Wie wol wir Brüeder haben aus geſchickht/nach euch zu fragen/So wiſſen wir kain Aigentliche[6] Botſchafft von euch die man geſagt hat/Vnnd wir ſeĩ gantz traurig vmb euch/dz wir nit mündlich mit euch Reden[7] ſollẽ/mügen[8]/oder euch mit Angeſicht beſchauen/Vnnd wir Leiden gar treulich von hertzen mit euch/wir Biten auch gott alleZeit treulich mit groſſem fleiß vnd ernſt für euch/Ja alle heilligen/die gantz heillig Gmain Gottes hie zue Auſpitz[9]/thuen ſolches on vnnderlaſs [147v] für euch/Vnnd wir gedenckhen euer on vnnderlaſs gegen gott in heilliger vnnd Götlicher Lieb/darumb Künnen wir nit vnderlaſſẽ/euch haim Zue ſuechen[10]/ Aus heilig[er$_6$] Götlicher vnnd Brüederlicher Lieb/euch zu tröſten mit diſem troſt/domit[11] vns gott Getröſtet hat/So bitten wir euch durch die hertzlich Barmhertzigkait Gottes/In der Götlichen war-

1. Hohenwart, about 20 km = 12.5 miles northeast of Krems in Lower Austria
2. *vnſers* seems to be omitted
3. MHG *berüefen,* wk., 'zusammenrufen; to call (together)'
4. ſein = sein'n = seinen; in = in'n = inen = ihnen
5. MHG *geswistergît* 'Geschwister; sisters and brethren'
6. MHG *eigenlich* 'bestimmt, speziell; certain, definite'
7. over *Reden* ss. m$_1$ *b;* over *ſollẽ* ss. m$_1$ *a*: *sollẽ Reden*
8. MHG *mügen* 'vermögen, können; to be able to'
9. Auspitz, about 36 km = 22.5 miles southeast of Brünn
10. MHG *heimsuochen* 'besuchen; to visit'
11. upper German darkening of *a* to *o*: *gethan* to *gethon,* etc.

heit bis an euer endt/zu beharren/vnnd erſchreckhent[12]
Luce 21 nit ob der gottloſen trutzen/Sie mögen euch nit ein härlē
·1· pet ·3· nemen an[63] gottes willen/Sonder heilligend[12] got den herren In euren hertzen/wie petrus ſpricht/das iſt ſo vil geredt/Gebt gott die eer/vnd nit den gotloſen menſchen/ [148r] preiſent gott/Lobent in/vnd vertrauent im von gantzem Abgrundt eures hertzens/vnnd zweifelt nit an ſeiner hilff vnd groſſen Barmhertzigkait/vnnd ob es ſich gleich ließ anſehen/zu zeiten/Als wollt er euch verlaſſen/
·1 P. ·2· So wirt es doch nit Lang geſchehen/Ob euch Gott ſchon in trüebſal füeret/er wirt euch auch wider herausfüeren/ vergeſſt nit den troſt des heilligen geiſts/Den gott zu euch/vnd zue allen ſeinen Kindern Redt/durch alle ſeine propheten vnd Knecht/von Anfang her/Dann gott ſpricht
Eſa ·4· alſo zu den ſeinigen/Förcht dir[13] nit mein dienner/du Armes ellends würmlen[14]/Ich wil [148v] Bei dir ſein/In feuer vnd in waſſer/das iſt in aller trüebſal Angſt vnnd not/Vnnd ich wil euer Künig vnd haubtman ſein/Ja euer wachter vnd auffeher/Darumb ſpricht der heillig Dauidt
pſ̃ ·27· /Der herr iſt mein ſchilt vnd meī Liecht/Vor wem ſol ich mich förchten/Der herr iſt meines Lebens Krafft/vor wem ſol mir grauſē/Vnnd wen ſich gleich ein gantz heer/wider mich verſamlet/ſo ſol ſich doch mein hertz auf den herren verlaſſen/Merckhent vnd betrachtent gar eben[15] Lieben gſchwiſtriget/Was der heillig Dauidt hie anzaigt durch den heilligen Geiſt vnnd Abermal ſpricht er/Ich
pſ̃ ·3· wil Mir[13] nit förchten/vor hundertta-[149r]-uſent völck-
pſ̃ ·60· 108· hern. Vnnd mein hertz ſol ſich gantz vnd gar auf den herren verlaſſen/Dann mit im wil ich wunderthaten[16] aus richten/Alſo thuet auch ir/hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/Da-
Rom ·8· rumb ſagt auch der heillig paullus/Iſt gott für vnns/wer
·Joan ·10· wil wider vns ſein/Chriſtus ſpricht/Die meinigen wirt mir niemands aus meiner hand Reiſſen/Dann der Vatter der mir ſie geben hat/iſt ſterckher den alles/Wie auch der

12. Cf. Letter II, Notes 23 and 29, for the imperative pl. and the 2. pers. pl. pres. indic. in *-ent, -end,* e. g., *(ir) erschreckhent*

13. MHG *vorhten,* refl. with dat., 'sich fürchten; to be afraid'

14. *-len,* Bavarian for *-lein*

15. MHG *eben,* adv., 'sorgfältig, genau; carefully'

16. between *wunder* and *thaten* ss. m_1 *vnd*: *wunder vnd thaten*

Esaie ·4· heillig prophet Eſaies ſagt/Alle ding im himel vnnd auf erden/Ja vnnder der erden/Ja alle Künig vnnd fürſten/ Alle herren. vnnd in Suma alle menſchen/Alle Creaturen/ vnd alle haiden [ſind][17] gegen got wie gar nicht[18][149v] O wol ein teures/edles/vnd werdes[19] wort/iſt das allen Liebhabern gotes/betrachtends gar wol vnnd eben[20] in euren hertzen/Darumb ſpricht auch Chriſtus/Wer mein
Math ·7· wort hŏret vnd fleiſſig thuet/der iſt ein weiſer Klueger man/der ſein hauſs auff ainen Gueten felſen Bauet/Wen ſchon platz Regen windt vnd gewäſſer kombt/Vnnd ſtoſſen an das hauß ſo felt es doch nit/Das hauß ſein alle from̃e Chriſtliche hertzen / Darinen gott wonet/Der felß iſt Chriſtus/Der platzregen vnd gewäſſer iſt alle trüebſall verfolgung Leiden vnd ſchmertzen/Auch welches[20] trutzen[21] vnd droen Ja alle falſche Leer/Das wirt [150r] alles mit ain ander die Fromen nit abwerffen/ von der[22] warhait/Wie auch Chriſtus abermal hernach ſpricht/Auf diſen Grund oder velſen wil ich Bauen mein heilligegmain[23]/Vnnd die porten[24] der Hellen[25] ſollen ſie nit v̈bergweltigen[26]/Die porten d[er$_6$] hellen ſein alle Gwaltige diſer welt/Nämlich künig vnd fürſten/vnd alle
Ephe ·6· Tirannen vnd feindt der gŏtlichen warheit/Ja die fürſten der finſternus vnnd Regenten diſer welt/da wider wir[27] zu ſtreiten vnd zu Kempffen haben/Wie dann d[er$_6$] hei-
Mat ·7· lig paullus anZaigt/Dann gleich wie Chriſtus iſt die thür
Joan ·10· oder porten zu den[28] ewigen Leben/vnd Wer Im nach volgt vnd von hertz[en$_1$] [150v] Glaubt vnnd vertraut/ vnd Im Gar treulich vnderthon[11] iſt/der wirt ſeelig werden/wie er dan ſelber ſpricht/Alſo ſein auch die porten zu

17. *sind* seems to be omitted
18. MHG *niht,* str. subst., 'nichts; nothing, naught'
19. MHG *wert, -des* 'wert; valuable, precious; worth'
20. 'welche(s) . . . auch immer; whatever, whichever'
21. MHG *trutzen,* here verbal subst., 'die Widersetzlichkeit, Feindseligkeit; opposition, hostile action'
22. *Götlichen* is struck out m$_1$ after *der*
23. thus in the MS
24. MHG *porte* (from Lat. *porta*) 'Pforte; portal, gate'
25. MHG *helle* 'Hölle; hell'
26. cf. MHG *geweltigen* 'überwältigen; to overpower, conquer'
27. *wir* ss. m$_1$
28. *n* instead of *m* is frequently found in the Bavarian dialect

der Hell/vnd zue dem ewigen Todt/Wer inen glaubt vnd nach volgt/oder gehorſam Iſt/der wirt gwiſßlich verdambt werden/Aber diſe helliſche portẽ/werden die fromen Kinder gottes nit abwerffen oder abwend[en$_1$]/von
math ·16· der Gottlichen warheit/Deñ Chriſtus ſagt/die porten d[er$_6$] hellen werden ſie nit v̈berwind[en$_5$] Diſen worten
·1 pet ·3· gibt auch zeucknus der heillig Petrus in ſeinem Epiſtlen vnd ſpricht/Wer wil euch ſchaiden/ſo ir dem Guetten treulich vnd gar fleiſſig nachkoment/[151r] fǒrchtet euch
·2 pet ·3· gar nit vor irem trutzen/Weiter ſagt er auch/wẽ wir die werckh frucht oder Tugenden des heilligen Chriſtlich-[en$_1$] Glaubens fleiſſig thuen/vnd volbringen/ſo werden
Rŏm ·5· wir nit fallen/Der heillig paullus gibt auch Zeuckhnus vnd ſpricht/Die Hoffnung die wir haben in Chriſto die laſt vns nimermer zu ſchandẽ werden/Darumb das die Lieb
Joan ·4· gottes iſt aus Goſſen[29] in vnnſere hertzen/Welche Lieb iſt Chriſtus vnnd der vatter ſelber/Wie der heillig Johannes ſagt/Das iſt auch der velß von welchem vorhin geſagt
Rŏm ·8· iſt[30]/Vnd darumb ſpricht der heillig paullus noch weiter/Wer Wil vns ſchaiden von der Liebe gotes/[151v] Trüebſal oder Angſt/verfolgung oder hunger/Blǒſſe geferlig-
pſ̃ ·44· kait oder ſchwert/Wie dan geſchriben ſteet/vmb deinent willen werden wir getǒdtet den gantzen tag/vnd ſein gleich gerechnet für ſchlacht ſchaff/Aber vmb den[31] v̈berwinden wir weit/vmb des willen der vns geliebet hat/Dann ich Bin gewiß/das vns weder todt noch Leben/Enngel noch fürſtenthumb/noch gwallt Gegenwertigs/noch Zu Künfftigs/hochs oder Tieffes/noch kain andere Creatur/vns ſchaiden mag von der Liebe/die in Chriſto Jeſu vnnſerm herren Iſt/Sehent Zue Ir hertzlieben Kinder Gottes/wie ſein[32] das ſo gar gwaltige troſtreiche wort/Vnd Aber-[152r]-mal ſagt der heillig Paullus/Der Herr iſt treu vnd warhafftig/vnnd Laſt euch nit verſuecht werden/v̈ber euer vermügen/Sonder machet alleZeit neben der verſuechung ein Gnädigs

29. p. p., 'ausgegossen; poured (into)'

30. instead of *gesagt worden ist;* cf. A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Zur Entwicklung der Perfektumschreibung im Deutschen,* Language Diss. No. 6 (Linguistic Soc. of America, Baltimore, Md., Dec., 1929), pp. 37-41.

31. cf. Rom. 8, 37: "Aber in dem allen überwinden wir weit um des willen, der uns geliebet hat" (Luther's Bible transl.)

32. dialectic for *sind*

vnd väterlichs aus Komen/Das irs wol ertragen mögt/Darumb ſpricht er/Hüetent euch nur gar fleiſſig vor irem Götzen werckh/Alls wolt er ſprechen/Hüetent euch nur gar fleiſſig vnd eben[15]/vorallen iren böſen werckhen/Vnnd was euch darumb auffgelegt wirt/das wirt euch Got gar treulich helffen tragen/Vnnd wirt euch hilff vnd Beiſtandt thuen/in allẽ euren nöten/Schauend meine hertzlieben mitglider. In dem Leib [152v] Chriſti/wie gar hertzlich ſchön tröſtet vnns der heillige Geiſt/allenthalben/Es möcht einem Liebhaber gottes ſein hertz vor Groſſen freüden ſpringen/vnd Lachen/wen ainer ſolches betracht/ vnnd zu hertzen nimbt/Ja wan ainer traurig vnd betrüebet wer/bis in ſeinen todt/So ſolt Er gleich[33] gantz Lebentig werden/Dann das alles mit ain ander vnd noch gar vil mer iſt vns geſchriben zu ainem troſt vnd zu ainer freüd/ Darumb ſeit getröſt vnd gehabt euch nur gar von hertzen wol/Denn got füeret in die hell vnd wider heraus/er macht Traurig vnd wider frölich/er gibt den todt vnnd auch das Leben/vnd nach groſſẽ [153r] vngewitter macht er wid[er$_6$] ſchön/Darumb ſeit Lanckhmüetig vnnd wartend mit groſſer Gedult auf euers Leibs erlöſung/Vnd werdent nit müedt oder mad in eurẽ Lauff/Secht[34] auch nit hinder ſich[35]/vnd ſchauent das die Lieb in eurẽ hertzen nit erlöſch oder erKallt/Schämend euch der Bandt vnd des Leiden[36] Chriſti nit/Sonnder freüend euch des von gantzem hertzen/Dann ir wiſſend das euch nit Anders verhaiſſen oder Zue geſagt/Iſt hie auf diſen[28] erdboden/Dann Leiden vnd ſterben/trüebſal Angſt vnnd not/auch groſſe verfolgung pein vnd martter/ſchmach vnnd ſchandt von allen gottloſen menſchen/Das Iſt das recht Zaichen vnd ſigel [153v] aller fromen Kinder gottes/Ja die Zaichen Chriſti oder des menſchen Sons/vnnd aller ſeiner glid[er$_6$]/das zu den Letſten Zeiten erſcheinẽ mueß nach dem wort des herrẽ/ Ja Creütz vnd trüebſal ſteet allen Kindern Gottes gar von

33. *gleich* is written on the margin and designated as an insertion by a cross between *Er* and *gantz*

34. *ſecht* = seht: especially final *-h* and *h* before *t* in EaNHG are still guttural spirants as in MHG

35. instead of *euch*

36. The ending *-s* of the genitive sgl. is often omitted in Bavarian.

hertzen wol an/Es iſt in[4] ein ſchöne eer vor got/Ja ein Lieblicher Ruem vnd freüden Krantz/vor got dem allerhöchſten vnd vor allen heilligen/Dann es iſt allen heilligen propheten vnd patriarchen/auch Chriſto dem herrē vnnd allen ſeinen Jungern alſo ergangen/In Suma allen auſſerwelten von anfang der wellt her/Dobej wir billich gedenckhē/ſollen/wen vns ſolches vmb der [154r] warheit willen begegnet/das wir darumb nit Gottes feindt ſein[32]/
Ebre ·12·
Apoc ·3·
ſonnder ſeine freündt vnnd Liebe Kindlen/Wie dann der herr ſelber ſpricht/Welchen ich Lieb habe/den Züchtige Ich/vnnd welches Kindt der vatter auf nimbt/das gaiſlet er/vnd Laſt kains nit hin/Welche aber die Züchtigung nit annemen noch erdulden/das ſein nit Kinder Gotes ſonder der Babiloniſchen Hueren/wie dan geſchriben ſteet/ Darumb wol dem/der die Züchtigung des herren erduldet/ Der heillig geiſt preiſt ſie an allen orten/ſälig in der heilligen gſchrifft/Ja ſie haben groſſen Lob[37] vor gott/die darinen beſtanden vnd [154v] verharret ſein/Vnd ſälig ſein die do Laidt tragen/dañ ſie ſollen getröſtet werden/Ja die vmb des herren willen traurigkait vnnd Laidt tragen/Weiter auch die vm̄ der warheit gottes willen verfolget werden/Den das himelreich iſt ir Aigen/Sälig ſeit ir/ſo euch die Leüt oder menſchen ſchmahen vmb meinent willen/habēt freüdt vnd frolockhent/Es wirt euch im himel wol Belonet werdē/Dann Alſo haben ſie verfolgt die heilligen propheten/die vor euch geweſen ſein[32]/Das iſt ſo vil geredt/Als wolt Chriſtus ſprechen/Dobej ſollt ir gwißlich merckhen vnnd erkennen/das ir auch geheiligt[38]/vnd got gar von hertzen lieb vnd [156r][39] wol gefellig ſeit/die weil er euch gleich das Zaichen beweiſt/vnnd mit tailt/das er allen ſeinen Liebhabern hat mit getaillt vnd bewiſen/Darum ſagt Chriſtus nur von den Seinigen/wj man ſie wirt Creützigen / verfolgen / Gaiſlen/verſchmähen töd tē/vnd vmbbringen/berauben/verJagen/fahen[40] vnnd peinigen/ Darumb ſpricht der heillig paullus/Durch vil Leiden vnd
Math ·5·
Math ·10·
Joā ·16·
Acto ·14·

37. MHG *lop, -bes,* str. masc., 'das Lob'
38. the prefix *ge-* ss. mı
39. The folio number [155] is omitted in the pagination. There is no interruption in the text.
40. MHG *vâhen* 'fangen; to seize'

Römer ·8· trüebſal müeſſen wir ein geen in das Reich gottes/vnnd abermals ſpricht er/Wenn wir mit Leiden/ſo werden wir auch mit erben/Dulden wir nit/ſo werden wir auch nit mit
philip ·2· herſchen oder Regieren/Vnd Abermals ſpricht er/Es Iſt euch nit [156v] allain geben/das ir In Chriſtum glaubend /ſonnder auch mit im Leidet/vnd den ſelbigen Kampff Kempfft/den ir an mir ſelbs geſehen habt/Darumb wil er ſie auch nit Anderſt weiſen/Den nur auf den geCreützigten Chriſtum/vnd auf das wort vom Creütz vnd Leiden/ Der heillig Petrus ſagt auch alſo/wenn ir vmb wolthat willen Leidet vnnd erduldet/das iſt eitl[41] gnadt vor Gott/ Balt hernach ſagt er/Seelig ſeit auch ir/ſo Ir Leidet vmb der Gerechtigkait willen/Der Geiſt Gottes Rueet auf euch /vnd wirt Im[42] vnd durch euch gepreiſt/Der heillig Jacobus ſpricht auch/Wir preiſen alle die ſelig/dj do erdu-
Jacob ·5 [157r][43]-ldet haben/die Züchtigung/Ja gar noch vil mer ſchöner Zeuckhnus haben wir hin vnd wider/das wir vnns billich der Bandt vnd Leiden Chriſti nit ſchämen ſollen/ Auch vns der ſelbigen nit Laſſen verdrieſſē/ſonnder mit groſſem danckh vnd hertzigen[44] freüden ſollen wir ſolches annemen von Got/Die heiligen Apoſtl haben nit vmb-
Acto ·5· ſonſt gott gedanckhet/Do man ſie gepeinigt geſchmächt/ Auch mit Rueten geſchlagen hat/do giengen ſie gantz frölich von des Radts Angeſicht/Vnnd ſageten got von hertzen Lob vnnd danckh/das ſie wirdig waren vmbs herren willē/ſchand vnd ſchmach vnd auch ſtraich zu leiden/ ſie hieltens gar für [157v] ein groß vnnd edels Ding/oder Klainoth/Vnnd auch der heillig paullus/Rüembt ſich nit beſſers/dann des Creütz oder Leidens Chriſtj/das er ſelber gelitten hat/an ſeinem Aignen Leib/Es ſpricht auch
·1· pet ·4· der heillig Petrus/Niemandt Leide als ain vbelthäter. Leidet Aber yemandt als ein Chriſt/ſo ſchäme er ſich nit/ ſonder er preiß vnnd Lobe gott von hertzen darumb/Der
Jaco ·1· heillig Jacobus ſpricht auch/Meine Brüed[er10] achtet es

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41. MHG *îtel* 'eitel, nichts als; nothing but'
42. instead of *In* [?]
43. Fols. 157-162 are indicated by the last two numerals only, i. e., 57, 58, etc.
44. cf. MHG *hërzeclich* 'vom Herzen kommend; innermost, deep, coming from one's heart'; as an adverb: 'sehr; very (much)'

für eitl[41] freüdt/wen ir in mancherleÿ verſuechung fallent/ꝛc

Math 24. Darumb meine hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/Trŏſtet euch mit diſem[45] worten/vnnd verharrent Ritterlich In der war-

Ecclj 4. hait/Dann [158r] Chriſtus ſpricht/Wer verharret bis ans Enndt/der wirt ſelig werden/Streitent nur gar treulich für die göttlich warheit/ſo wirt auch gott für euch

Judit 8. ſtreiten/Bis in euren todt/Setzend dem herrē kaĩ Zil oder Zeit ſeiner Barmhertzkait[46] Er wais vnnd erkennet Rechte Zeit/vnnd ſtundt wol/er wirt gar zu Rechter vnd zu der aller beſten Zeit Komen/

Math 10. Hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/bekennent den herren nur gar treulich/So wirt er euch auch bekennen/vor got ſeinem himliſchen vatter/Schäment euch ſein nit vor diſem Eebrecheriſchen gſchlecht/ſo wiert er ſich euer auch nit ſchämen/vor gott ſeinem himliſchen vatter/Wer [158v] Aber Chriſtum nit bekennt vor allen menſchen/Sonnder verlaugnet in/vnnd ſchämbt ſich ſein/dē wirt auch Chriſtus nit bekennē/vor got vnd allen Englen/Vnnd wirt ſich ſein ſchämen an dem tag vor allem ſeinem himliſchen heerſcharren/Wer vberwindt den teufel vnd ſein Aigen fleiſch /vnnd darZue alle vngerechtigkait/vnnd Ritterlich hin durch Kempft vnnd ſtreitet durch diſen Zeitlichē todt/ zu dem ewigen Leben/denen wirt gott der herr auffetzen/ ein ſchöne herrliche kron/die werden ſie empfahen von des herrē handt/die do nimermer welch[47] wirt/Ja gott wirt inen abweſchen[48] Alle Ire Trähern[49] von Irem Ang-[159r]-ſicht/vnd wirt inen geben groſſe vnnd vnauſſprechliche freüdt/das ſie der trüebſal nimermer werd[en5] gedenckhen/die ſie erlidtē habē/ſo gar groſs wirts die herrliche freüdt vbertreffen/Wie dann der heillig paullus ſagt/Ich Acht darfür/ſpricht er/das diſer Zeit Leiden der herrligkait nit werdt[19] Iſt/die an uns ſoll geoffenbaret werden/Vnnd Abermals ſpricht er/vnnſer Leiden das Klain

45. instead of *diſen*
46. instead of *Barmhertzigkait;* cf. MHG *barmhërze* 'barmherzig; pitiful'
47. MHG *wëlch* 'welk; withered'
48. MHG *abe-weschen,* or, with a degenerated *e* for *i,* MHG *abe-wischen* 'abwaschen, reinigen; abwischen; to wipe off, dry'
49. MHG *treher* 'Träne; tear'

vnnd Leicht Iſt/Das ſchafft vnnd Bringt mit ſich ein v̈ber
·1 Cor·13·15· alle maß/Groſſe vnnd treffenliche herrligkait/Abermals
·1 Joā ·3· ſagt der heillig paullus/auch der heillig Johannes/das wir dem herren noch gantz gleich formig werden/In dem [159-v] neuen himliſchen weſen/vnd wir werden in[50] ſehen wie er Iſt/Vnnd vnnſer Leib wirt verwandelt werden/vnnd gantz gleich formig dem Leib ſeiner Klarhait/Ja die auſſerwelten werden Leüchten vnd ſcheinen In Ires vatters Reich wj die ſchöne vnd Klare Sonne/O wol ein herrlichs Reich hat got den ſeinigen geben vnd Zue Berait/dz Kain Aug nie geſehen hat/kain Or nie gehört/Vnnd auch in Kaines menſchen hertz nie geſtigen Iſt/wie der heillig prophet vnd auch paullus ſagt/Der Herr wirt den Seinigen ein ewige Rue vnd fridt ſchaffen/das ſie niemandt mer Belaidigen[51] wirt/Sie werden ſeī Bej gott dem vatter/vnd Künig [160r] vnnd Chriſto Jeſu/Auch mit Abraham Iſaac vnnd Jacob/vnd mit allen propheten vnd heilligen ſitz[en3] In dem Reich Gottes/Vnnd mit allen Ennglen vnd himliſchen heerſcharen/Leben vnnd ſchweben Immer vnnd ewigklich/Ja die groſs vnd vnauſſprechliche freüdt vnd herrligkait/Die gott geben wirt den Auſſerwelten/iſt mir vnd allen heilligen nit müglich zu erzellen/vnnd aus zu ſprechen/Dauon alle propheten vnd heiligē Zeuckhnus geben/an allen orten In der heilligen Gſchrifft/das Ich aus meiner ſchwachait nit erZellē kan oder mag[8]/Wer ſolches zu hertzen nimbt/vnnd faſſet/der ſoll billich ſein hertz ſchickhen vnd ber-[161r]-aitten/das er mit Luſt vnd groſſen freüden Kempffe/vnnd ſtreite nach diſer herrligkait/Dann es mueſs Je darumb geſtritten ſein/Got der herr wöll[52] euch vnnd vns allen diſen ſig vnd ſtreit helffen erlangen/vnd dz Klainoth zu wegen bringen/durch ſein Kindt Jeſum Chriſtum vnnſern lieben herren/Dem ſej preiß eer Lob vnnd dannckh/Geſagt In ſeiner höch vnd maieſtat von ewigkait zu ewigkait/Amen.

Weiter hertzlieben Gſchwiſtriget/Laſſe ich euch wiſſen/wie es vmb vns hie ſteet/Nemlich wol im herren/wie wol

50. *in* ss. m1
51. MHG *beleidigen* 'verletzen; to hurt, harm'
52. MHG *wöllen* 'wollen; to want to'

groſſe trüebſall Leiden wir/Aber es Iſt Recht vnd [161r] Guet alſo /Got ſej von hertzen Lob vnnd danckh darumb geſaget/Wir Leben ſonſt in Groſſer heilliger Lieb/fridt vnnd Ainigkait des heilligen geiſts/wir wartten[53] aber noch alleZeit vil Groſſer trüebſal vnnd verfolgung Als wir Jetzundt Leiden/Der Herr Laſs vnns Im befolhen ſein/Durch ſein groſſe Barmhertzigkait/wir warten mit groſſem verlangẽ/auf vnnſers Leibs erlŏſung auff den ſabath/wann wir Rueen vnd feiren werden von aller müeh vnnd Arbait/vnnd von allen vnſern werckhen/das wir einmal die müeſäligen hüten ablegeten/das vnnſer Seel ain mal zu Rue vnd ſtifft[54] kăm/auch zu dem ewi-[161v]-gen frid/dohin[11] Arbaiten wir auch mit groſſem verlangen/nach diſem göttlichen vatterlandt/Denn hie in diſer ellenden wüeſt/haben wir Kain fridt oder Rue/auch kain Bleibende ſtat/ Sonnder ainer Zukünfftigen warten wir/Der Brueder Offrus[55] iſt auch komen mit vil andern gſchwiſtrigeten/Got ſeÿ Lob/Der herr hat ſie wunderbarlich her durch gefüert/Wir haben vnns Irer Zue-Kunfft[56] vaſt[57] hertzlich vnnd hoch erfreüdt/vnnd Gott hoch vnnd faſt[57] darumb gepreiſt[58]/es ſein nit vil geſchwiſtriget mer oben Im Landt[59]/

Weiter Ir hertzlieben Kinder gottes/Der Brueder hanß[60]/Jŏrg Faſſer[61]/Offrus[55][/] Leonhart[62]/wilhelm/[162r] vnnd alle dienner Gottes/hie bei vns/mit ſambt der heilligen Gmain/des herren/Ja alle Kind[er$_{10}$] Gottes ein iedes in ſonderhait/Laſſen euch gar freündlich grüeſſẽ/zuuil hundert tauſent mal/In heilliger göttlicher/vnd vngefelſchter Liebe/mit dem heilligen himliſchen Kuß vnnſers herren Jeſu Chriſti/nur gar hoch vnnd vaſt[57]/von gantzem Abgrundt Ires Hertzens/

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53. MHG *warten*, with gen., 'warten auf, erwarten; to be waiting for'

54. MHG *stift* 'geistliches Stift; ecclesiastical institution'; here related with the basic meaning of Germanic **stiftian* 'festmachen, fig.: to settle (mentally)'; here: 'peace, quiet'

55. cf. Letter III, Note 11: Onophrius Griesinger

56. MHG *zuokunft* 'Ankunft; arrival'

57. MHG *vast* 'sehr, recht (cf. NHG adv. *feste*); very (much)'

58. MHG *prîsen*, wk., 'preisen; to praise'

59. i. e., im Oberland = in Tirol

60. Hans Amon (Tuchmacher); cf. Hege-Neff, *Mennonitisches Lexikon* I:57-58 (1914)

61. Georg Fasser; cf. *ibid.* I:633-634 (1924)

62. Leonhart Lanzenstiel (Sailer); cf. *ibid.* II:619-621 (1935)

Vnnd Ich Jacob ein vnwirdiger dienner vnſers Herren Jeſu Chriſtj/ vnnd ſeiner heilligen vñ Chriſtenlichen Gemain/Ich grüeß euch der maſſen/von gantzẽ hertzen/In Rainer heilliger Gŏtlicher/Ja Brüederlicher vnd auch [162v] Chriſtlicher lieb mit dem heilligẽ Kuß meines hertzens hoch vnnd vaſt[57] zuuil hundert tauſent mal/vnnd auch an vnderlaß alle Zeit mit meiner Aignen handt hab ich euch ſolches Geſchriben Inn der heilligen vnnd Rainen Lieb Gotes/Vnnd ſeit alſo getrŏſtet durch mein Ainfaltigs ſchreibẽ/vnnd heillige treue vermanung/die ich euch thue/ꝛc. Wie wol ich gar vil Lieber mündtlich mit euch Reden wolt/Nun aber mag es Jetzund nit ſein/
Domit[11] ſeit gott befolhen In ſeinen heilligen ſchutz vnd Schirm/ vnnd vnder ſeinen Gwalltigen Arm/vnnd vnder die flügl ſeiner Gŏtlichen Barmhertzigkait/[163r] der ſei ewigklich mit euch/vnd wŏll vns zuſamen ſamlen vnd ſchickhen/durch ſeinen heilligen Geiſt/In ſeinem fridt/vnd wŏlle vns Bei ein ander vnnd bei Im In ſeiner warheit erhallten vnd bekrefftigen bis an vnſer endt vnnd ewigklich/ Durch vnſern herren Jeſum Chriſtum/Dem ſei abermal von hertzen Lob vnd preiſs Geſagt Zu ewigen Zeiten/Amen

Gehn Hohẽwart In
Oſterreich/Geſenndt
von Auſſpitz/:·

63. MHG *ân* 'ohne; without'

Letter V

Die Ander Epiſtel võ Jacob Huetter· An die gemain In Marhern[1]·ꝛc·

Letter V, comprising fols. 163v-184r of Cod. I. 87708, was written in 1535 and serves well to depict Huter's activities in Tirol.—An excerpt of this epistle appeared in Wolkan, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117. It is presented here for the first time in full.

[163v] *Jacob ein vnwier*diger Knecht vnnd dienner des herren Jeſu Chriſti Den auſſerwelten heilligen vnnd Kindlen Gottes Im mărherlandt/wo ſie ſein hin vnnd wider verJagt vnd zerſtreüet/ vmb der Zeuckhnus gottes/vnnd vmb ſeiner warheit vnnd heilligen namens willen/meinen geliebten im herren/
Gnadt vnnd fridt vnnd die barmhertzigkait/vnnd hultſchafft[2] vnſers

1. instead of *Mărhern*
2. MHG *huldeschaft* 'Huld, Gnade; grace'

gottes Im himel/vnd ſein[3] heilliger ſegen ſei mit euch/[164r] vnnd mit allen Auſerwelten durch Jeſum Chriſtum Amen.
Ich Danckh vnnd Lob meinem Got on vnderlaſs/vnnd bitt auch alle-Zeit ernſtlich mit ſambt meinen Brüedern vnd mitglidern die bej mir ſein/für euch mit ernſt/Dann ir hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/euer not trüebſal/ellendt vnd Armuet/erkennen wir vaſt[4] wol/vnnd betrachtends[5] on vnderlaß mit ſchmertzẽ in vnnſerm hertzen/Ja gott waiß es im himel/das ich vnnd wir alle/ſolches mit euch trag[en5]/mit euch Leiden von hertzen geengſtigt werden/Aber Gott (von himel·) der vatter aller [164v] Gnaden vnd Barmhertzigkait/der gerecht Richter aller witwẽ vnnd waiſen/der troſt aller fromen/betrüebten vnd Chriſtlichẽ hertzen/der wölle[6] euch vnd vns beiſtanndt thuen In allen vnſern nöten/vnnd wöll vns beſchützen beſchirmen vnd erlöſen aus allẽ trüebſal/vnnd wölle euch vnnd vns ein gnedigs aus Komen machen/vnnd wölle vns tröſten vnd erkückhen[7] in vnſerm ellendt/dem ſelbigen Gott vnd herren/dem vatter vnd ſchöpffer aller Barmhertzigkait vnd Gnaden ſej Lob eer vnnd preiß/geſagt Im himel dort oben/für euch vnd für vns vnd für alle heilligen/durch Jeſum Chriſtum Imer [165r] vnnd ewigklich/Amen/
Ir aller liebſten Brüeder vnnd ſchweſtern/In dem herren/Ich habe vorhin zu euch geſchickht vnnſern Lieben Brueder Michel/welchen wir haben abgefertigt mit ernſtlichem biten vnd ſchreiẽ/das in gott mit glückh vnd mit hail wöll zu euch ſchickhen/vnd ſeinen weg verfertigen[8]/Auff das ir von vns getröſtet wurdt in eurem ellendt/ wir habẽ auch gebeten/vnnd geſchriren[9] zu dem Allmechtigen Got/ das wir von euch möchten ein gnedige Botſchaft hören vnnd empfahen[10]/nach welcher vnns dan von hertzen verlangt hat mit vil ſenen vnd ma-[165v]-nigem groſſen ſchmertzen/vnd Bej diſem Brueder michl hab ich euch alle ſach geſchriben/vnd zu Kundt gethon[11]/wie es vns geet/vnnd wie es vmb vns hie vnd allenthalben ſteet/

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3. *ſein* is repeated in the MS
4. MHG *vast* 'sehr, recht (cf. NHG *feste*); very (much)'
5. Cf. Letter II, Notes 23 and 29, for the imperative pl. and the 2. pers. pl. pres. indic. ending in *-ent, -end,* e. g., *(ir) betrachtend*
6. MHG *wöllen, wellen* 'wollen; to want to'
7. MHG *erkücken* 'erquicken; to strengthen, comfort'
8. cf. MHG *vertigen 'vertic* machen'; here: 'bereiten; to prepare'
9. with inner *r,* especially Bavarian; cf. OHG 3. pers. pl. *scrirun;* 'geschrieen'
10. MHG *enphâhen* 'empfangen; to receive'
11. upper German darkening of *a* to *o,* e. g., *dahin*: *dohin; gethan*: *gethon,* etc.

Nun haben wir das vertrauen vnnd die hoffnung zu dem Lebentigen Gott/zu vnnſerm hertz aller liebſten vatter/er hab diſen vnſern Brueder zu euch beleittet[12]/geſchickht vnnd gefieret[13] durch ſeinen heilligen Enngel/vnnd Ir habt diſe Botſchafft von vns gehört vnnd empfangen/Der hoffnung ſein wir Je zum herren/

Nun was ſich weiter begeben vnd verloffen hat/vnnd wie es ſteet/wil ich euch aufs Kurtzeſt erzelen [166r] anZaigen/vnnd euch Abermals ſollches zu Kundt thuen/DarZue Zwingt mich Gottes Lieb vnnd geiſt nämlich alſo/Als bald wir den Brueder haben abgefertigt /Balt darnach iſt vns ein Lieber Brueder von euch zu vns Komẽ/der vns von euch Botſchafft gebracht hat/vnnd vns anZaigt iſt worden/ gſchrifftlich[14] vnd mündlich/wie es vmb euch ſteet/den ſelben haben wir mit groſſen freüden/vnnd mit groſſen[15] danckh empfangen vnnd auff genomen/Als vnnſern Lieben Brueder/von got vnnd von euch vnns zue geſchickht vnd geſendet/

Nun hertzlieben Brüeder vnd ir Kinder des Lebentigen Gottes/ [166v] Wir ſein durch euer Botſchafft hertzigklich[16] vnnd wol getröſtet worden/Wir haben auch euer Botſchafft vnnd alle ding gar fleiſſig vnnd treulich mit dem aller höchſten Ernſt hin vnd wider/ hie bej vns[17]/erwegen euer frümbkait/vnnd beſtendigkait/vnd eurẽ Groſſen gehorſam/vnd gedullt/vnd euren heilligen Chriſtlichen Tugenthafftigen Wanndel/vnd die Redligkait Ritterſchafft/vnnd das manlich ſtreiten vnd Kempff[en$_5$] Der Heilligen martrer vnd Zeugen gottes/Die bei euch erfundẽ[18] worden ſein/die in aller marter vnd pein treu ſein Bliben/Vnnd dem Herren die warheit Ritterlich bekendt/vnd dafür geſtriten [167r] bis in iren tod/Wir Künnen vnnd mügen[19] Got dem herren nit gnueg Lob vnnd danckh ſagen/für ſolche alle/vnnd mügen[19] ſeinen namen nit Hoch gnueg preiſen/vnnd eeren/Ja vil from̃er Chriſtlicher hertzen/vnnd wir allhie ſeind gar hertzigklich[16] getröſt/erquickht vnnd geſterckht worden/vnnd haben Zuuerſicht gewonnen an den[15] herren durch die Botſchafft/O wie gar hertzigklich[16] eiffert vnnd verlangt vnſere hertzen mit groſſem ſehnẽ

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12. MHG *beleiten* 'führen, geleiten; to lead, conduct'
13. with unrounding, frequent in upper German; 'geführt'
14. EaNHG; 'schriftlich; in writing'
15. *n* instead of *m* is frequently found in Bavarian
16. MHG *hërzeclîche,* adv., 'herzlich, sehr; very (much)'
17. *erwogen* seems to be omitted
18. MHG *ervinden* 'ausfindig machen, finden; to find'
19. MHG *mügen* 'vermögen; to be able to'

vnnd ſeüfftzen/vnd mit gŏtlichẽ eiffer/bis wir diſen gleichformig mochten werden/Dann ſie haben vns ein groſſe vrſach/vnnd bej ſpil hinder In[20] gelaſſen/Gott [167v] Helff vnns auch dohin[11] durch ſeinen aller liebſten ſon Jeſum Chriſtum/Welchem ſej abermal preiß vnnd eer von hertzen Lob vnnd danckh Geſagt/in ſeinem hŏchſten himel dort oben Imer vnnd ewigklich Amen

Her widerumb haben wir auch traurigkait vnd ſchmertzen empfangen/vnnd vil laidt/Aber doch Gŏttliche[77] Traurigkait/darumb das wir ſehen vnd Hören/Das die groſs vnbilligkait vnnd die Groſſe vnghrechtigkait/ſo gar v̈berflüſſig[21] allenhalben hat v̈ber handt Genomẽ/Für das ander/das auch vil aus denen/Die ſich got ergebẽ habẽ vnnſer Brüeder vnd ſchweſtern [168r] Geweſen ſein/durch ſolche vnGerechtigkait verfolgung vnnd verfüerung/Die do[11] iſt in der welt/widerumb abweichen/Gottloß vnnd pundt brüchtigt[22] an dem Herren/Vnnd an ſeinem heilligen volckh werden/ vnnd ſehen widerumb hinderſich/verainigen ſich wider mit dem teufel vnnd mit der wellt/vnnd werden feindt gottes vnnd ſeine Kinder/O wee vnd ach ſolchen menſchen/Wie gar ein erſchrockenliche[23] Grauſame plag/vnnd ein Rauchs[24] vrtl vnd ſchwere ſtraff werden ſolche von got empfahen[10]/es wer in freülich[25] wol beſſer/ſie hieten die warhait nie erkennt/wie wol die [168v] ſelbigen auch ein groſſe ſtraf pein vnnd marter von Gott werden empfahen/Es ſein vnns Etzliche[26] angeZaigt wordẽ die von euch Abgefallen vnnd aus geſchloſſen ſein/Wie wol vnns ſolches nit Krenckht oder ſchwecht/ vnnd ſoll vns ein gott wol nit ſchaden oder Ergern/Denn wir wiſſen /das ſolche Leichtfertige hertzen vnd ſeelen/durch trüebſal verfolgung/durch alle falſche propheten/Vnnd durch allen Liſt[27] vnnd Betrug des Teüfels des Sathans von den fromen vnnd gerechten müeſſen geſchaiden[28] vnd abgeſündert werden/wie die fleidẽ[29] durch

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20. instead of the later refl. pron. *sich;* cf. Note 52
21. MHG *übervlüzzic* 'überreich, übervoll; copious(ly), very much'
22. MHG *bunt* 'Bündnis, Bund (mit Gott); covenant'; *brüchtigt,* with a medial and a final unhistorical (i.e., unetymological) *t,* is Bavarian; 'brüchig; breaking'
23. *plag* is struck out after *erſchrockenliche*
24. MHG *rûch* 'rauh, hart, schwer; severe'; cf. Letter IV, Note 34 for *-ch*
25. with false rounding, frequent in South Bavarian; 'freilich; of course'
26. MHG *etesliche* 'einige; some, a few'
27. MHG *list,* str. masc., 'die List'
28. MHG p. p. *gescheiden* 'geschieden'
29. EaNHG *Fleiden* (*Fleien, Fleigen*), plural, an upper German word, '(Getreide)-spreu; chaff'

den windt von dem waitzẽ/ [169r] vnnd das Kot[30] durch das Feur von dem Silber vnd golt abgeſchaiden[28] wirt/Ja die heilligen propheten/vnd Chriſtus Jeſus der ſon Gotes/vnnd ſeine heiligen Apoſtl haben vns ſolches Gnueg geſagt/vnd anZaigt/das vil werden abweichẽ von dem Creütz Jeſu Chriſti vnd durch die falſchen propheten vaſt[4] vil verfüert vnd abtrünnig werden/Den herren ſein warheit vnd gerechtigkait/vnnd ſein heilligs volckh haſſen/vnnd verlaſſen/ Es iſt auch alſo ergangen zu der Zeit/der heilligen propheten/zu der Zeit Chriſti/vnd zu der Zeit ſeiner heilligen Apoſtel/[169v] Darumb ſolle vns ſolches nit ſchaden/ſchwechen oder Ergern/vnnd ſoll vnns nit ſchaiden von der Liebe Gottes/Die weil wir ſolches vorhin[31] gnueg wiſſen/vnd vns ſolches genueg iſt angeZaigt/Durch die heilligen Gotes/Wie oben ſteet/Wir wöllen ſehẽ auf die fromen auf die gerechtẽ/Auf die Gottsforchtigen/vnnd auf die Gehorſamen Heilligen Kinder Gottes/Die do beſtendig bleiben bis an ir endt/Vnnd ob Ir gleich vaſt[4] vber aus wenig ſein/So wöllen wir nit ſehen auf die Böſen Gottloſen/vngerechten vnd abfelligen menſchen/vnnd ob ir Gleich on Zall vnauſſprechlich vil ſein/wie es [170r] dann iſt/Dann ein menſch/der fromb vnnd gerecht iſt vor Gott/in der warheit Lebt vnd wandlet/vnnd darin beſteet/vnd verharret/bis an ſein endt/vnd Ritterlich ſtreitet für die warheit/vnnd den herren treulich bekennet/ in marter vnd pein/vnnd in aller verſuechung/Vnnd der dem herren vnd ſeinem vollckh treu iſt in allen dingen/Der Giltet[32] mer vor gott/dann vil hundertmal tauſent Gottloſen vnnd abtrünnige menſchen/Der ſoll auch in vnſern hertzen vil Gellten/Vnnd groß geachtet ſein/Auf den wellen[6] wir ſehen/vnd ſolchem nachfolgen/vnnd bei dem herren vnd bej denen/die des [170v] herren ſein/vnnd die do[11] haben gottes geiſt/vnnd das Lebentig wort/des ewigen Lebens/ vnd den namen Gottes tragen in Iren hertzen/bej denen wellen[6] wir bleiben vnd verharren/wie der frumb heillig petrus ſagt/vnnd ob gleich on maß vnd on Zil abweichen vnd abtretten/vnnd nit mer mit dem herren wandlen/Ich hab auch ſollcher menſchen/die vnns Jetzt ſein AngeZaigt/Als Abtrünnig vnnd aus geſchloſſen/von euch offt manigs mal zum Guetten tail vorhin ſorg gehabt/Gott wöl vns behüeten vnd bewaren/das vns ſolches nit auch widerfare/Auff das wir nit fallen In ir Exempel/[171r] vnnd in Ire ſtrickh/Domit[11] ſie

30. MHG *kôt,* str. neut., 'der Kot', here: 'das taube Gestein; dead lode, gangue'
31. EaNHG; 'vorher; before'
32. here without syncope of *e* of the ending *-et,* 'gilt'

vom teufel gebunden ſein/vnnd Inen nit gleichformig werden/Gott Geb vnnd behüet vns/das ſolches bei vns nit erfunden werde/Vnnd vnns ſolches nit weiter widerfar/O Gott (von himel·)· Behüet die dich fŏrchten vnnd ſuechen/Wir wŏllen aber hertzlieben Brüeder vnd ſchweſtern/deſter Gotfforchtiger vnd gwachiger[33] ſein im herren/vnd ſorgtragen für vnnſere anKlebiſchen[34] ſündt/vnd angeborne ſchwacheit/wie der heillig Dauidt Sagt/Auf das wir die ſündt nit mer Laſſen/In vnnſerm ſterblichem Leib vñ nit mer gehorſam ſein d[er$_{10}$] ſündt [171v] oder dem teufel/vnnd vnſere Glider nit mer Brauchen zu waffen der vngrechtigkait/oder zu kainer ſündt/ Wir wŏllen auch deſter[35] fleiſſiger ſein/Got dem[36] herren zu Lieben/ vnd[37] vor Augen zu haben/In allen dingen/Im vnd ſeinem volckh gehorſam vnderthennig ſein/zu allen gueten werckhen/Geſchickht[38] vnnd Berait/das haben wir im Sin/vnnd ſol auch vnnſer fürnemen ſein/Aber Gott (·von himelreich der vater aller barmhertzigkait vnd warheit ·)· der wŏlle ſolches in vns volbringen/vnd vollenden zu Lob ſeinem Heilligen namen/durch ſein Kindt Jeſum Chriſtum Amen.

[172r] *Zum dritten* mal tragen wir auch Traurigkait vnd ſchmertzen/vnnd aus gŏttlicher Lieb groß hertzigs mit Leiden/darumb das wir ſehen hŏren/Vnnd In der warheit wiſſen/vnd erkennẽ euer groſſe Trüebſal/verfolgung euren ſchmertzen vnd hertzen Laidt/ euer ellendt vnd Armuet/Darumb mein vnd vnſer aller hertzen noch für und für on vnnderlaſs vaſt[4] vnd hoch betrüebt vnd beſchwăret/ vnnd voller ſchmertzen vnd traurigkait Iſt/vnnd mein ſchmertzen vnnd hertzen Laidt/hŏret nit auf/vnd hat noch kain Endt/Wie ich euch dann vor[39] geſchriben hab/Ja meĩ [172v] hertz waint vnd traurt treulich on vnnderlaß vmb euch/das iſt gott (von himel) mein Zeug der mich waiß Kennt vnnd aller menſchen hertzen/dann die haimligkait vnd alle ding ſindt im offenbar/Ja mit Groſſem ſchmertzen vnnd mit vil traurigkait ſchreib ich euch abermal/vnd mit hertzigem Engſten meines gemüets/mit Naſſen vnd mit wainenden Augen/Als meinen hertzlieben Kindlen In dem herrẽ/Gott wŏlle

33. EaNHG; 'wachsam; watchful, heedful'
34. cf. MHG *anklëblicheit* (a word of the German mystics, *'adhaesio'*), here: 'anhaftend; tenacious, clinging'
35. instead of *desto*
36. thus in the MS
37. *vnd* ss. m$_1$
38. MHG *geschicket* 'fertig, bereit, gerüstet; ready, prepared'
39. MHG *vor* 'vorher, zuvor; before, previously'

mich euch vnd vnns all tröſten/Durch ſein Kindt Jeſum Chriſtum/ vnd durch ſein hertzliche groſſe Barmhertzigkait/vnd durch ſein Gnaden [173r] reichen heiligen geiſt/vnnd wölle vnns zu hilf Komen/in vnnſer not/vnnd ellend vnd wölle vnns Beiſtandt thuen/ vnnd im Laſſen befohlen ſein/hie vnd dort Imer vnnd ewigklich Amen/

Weitter Ir hertz aller liebſten/Brüeder vnnd ſchweſtern/vermane vnnd bit ich euch/das ir wölt getröſt vnd geſterckht ſein/In der gegenwertigen warhait/Die ir ietzund vnnd allZeit gehört habt/vnd zweifelt vnd wanckhet nicht/vnnd werdet nit Klainmüetig/Dañ das iſt der Rechte weg vnd die Götliche warheit/das bezeugt [173v] vnnd beweiſt[40] iſt durch heillige gſchrifft/vnnd vil in diſen vnnd andern Lendern/Ir Bluet darumb vergoſſen haben/vnnd die welt/ vnnd alles was in ir ſichtbar iſt verlaſſen/Vnnd ir ſindt das Auſerwelt geſchlecht/das Künigklich prüeſterthumb[25]/das heillig volckh/ das volckh des Eigenthumb[41] Gottes/Ir ſindt[42] die Gmain der erſt Gebornen/Die Im himel angeſchriben ſindt/Ir ſindt[42] auch mit gnoſſen vnd Kinder des Lebentigen Gotes/vnnd Got hat ein hertzigs wolgefallen an euch/Als ein Fromer Vatter an ſeinen lieben Kindlen/Als Gott In allen dingen Zeuckhnus gibt/[174r] Darumb ſollt ir nit zweiflen/Dann gott ·(· von himel ·)· der hat ſolches laſſen verſiglen/vnd beweiſen/bei euch im Märherlandt/In groſſer marter vnd pein/durch fromen Ritter mit irem bluet/Welches dem Herren vnd vnns ein groſſe eere Iſt/Vnnd ſoll vns auch ein ſchöner Ruem vnnd freüden Krantz ſein/Vnd ein Lieblicher troſt vnd ſterckh vor gott/Darumb ob euch vnd vns ſchon vil verdamen vnd vrteln[43]/ Laſſent[5] euch nit erſchreckhen/Dann was wil vns Ir Leſtern/vnnd vrteln/Ir ſchmeh[en1] ſchenden/vnnd verdamen ſchaden oder Kümern/Die weil got der [174v] vatter (von himelreich·) mit vns iſt/ Vnnd ſpricht vnns ſelig vnd fromb/Darumb ſeit getröſt vnd gehabt euch wol/Dann Got hat ein Gnädigs vnd barmhertzigs auffehen[44] auf euch vnd auf vns/Im ſeÿ Abermal Lob eer/danckh vnnd preiß Geſagt/In dem thron/ſeiner Herrligkait dort oben/durch Jeſum Chriſtum ſeinen Liebẽ Son/von vns vnnd von allen heilligen/vnnd von allen himliſchen heerſcharen/Immer vnnd Ewigklich Amen.

40. MHG *bewîsen,* wk., 'beweisen'
41. The ending *-s* of the genitive sgl. often is omitted in Bavarian
42. cf. Letter II, Note 37
43. MHG *urteilen* 'verurteilen; to condemn, censure'
44. MHG *ûfsëhen,* str. neut., 'Achtsamkeit; heed, attention'

Weitter Ir hertzlieben Kindlen Gottes/Laſſe ich euch wiſſen/wie es hie vmb vns ſteet/Nämlich alſo/welches ich euch aus göttlicher Lieb/nit verhallten kan/[175r] Die Kinder des Herren die hie ſein/ vnnſere Lieben Brüeder vnnd ſchweſtern/Die Gruenen vnnd Wachſen in Göttlicher gerechtigkait vnnd warhait/wie die ſchönen Lieblichen wolriechenden Gilgen[45] oder Bluemen/Wie ein ſchöner Gartten gruenet/von Ainem Lieblichen MaÿRegen/Alſo Gruenen vnd waxen/ſie auch vor Got/In gottes forcht in Gottes Lieb/vnnd friden/Wie der Heillig prophet Eſaias vnnd der Heillig Dauidt ſagt/ Ja Ire Hertzen brinnen[46] von dem feuer der göttlichen Lieb/vnnd Ire hertzen ſind erleüchtet vnd AngeZündt/von dem Liecht vnnd [175v] ewigen Feuer Gottes/das Ich meinem Gott vnnd vatter nit Gnueg Lob eer vnnd danckh ſagẽ Kan oder mag[19]/Dann mein hertz freüet ſich ir vor Got/in der Warhait/vnnd ſpringt mir vor Groſſen freüden/In meinem Leib/Wenn ich ſihe/höre vnnd gedennckh an ir Lieb vnd treu/An ir frömbkait[47] vnnd Gehorſam/die ſie von got empfangen haben/O Wie Reichlich vnnd gar wol hat ſie der Allmechtig Gott begnadet/Wie wol ſie all vaſt[4] ſeer Jung ſein Im herren/Vnnd In noch gar wenig gepredigt iſt worden Gottes wort/Aber ſie haben von hertzen wol angefangẽ [176r] Im Herren/Gott wöll es Auch vollenden/dann mein hertz vnd ſeel hat ein groſſen Luſt[48] vnd wol gefallen an inen/Darumb ſie billich[49] ein Luſt Gartten des herrn vnnd ein paradeiß Gottes Genennt werden/wie die geſchrifft ſagt/ Darumb ſag ich auch Gott/Lob eer vnnd danckh/Vnnd ſein heilliger Nam ſeÿ Abermal gepreiſt[50]/vnnd erhöcht[51] durch Jeſum Chriſtum Ewigklich Amen.

Ich bitt vnnd wünſch auch von gott/das Gott ſeinen Gartten wöll weſſern/vnnd begieſſen vonn himel herab mit ainem Gnedigen Regen mit dem troſt ſeines heillig[en$_1$] geiſts/Vnnd mit dem öl ſeiner Ba[-176v]-rmhertzigkait / Domit[11] wöll Got vnnſer vnnd aller Kindlen Gottes/hertzen ſalben vnnd vberſchütten/Vnnd im[52] ſeinen

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45. MHG *gilge* (*gilje, lilge, lilje*) 'Lilie; lily'
46. MHG *brinnen,* intr., 'brennen, glühen; to glow'
47. MHG *vrümekeit* 'Bravheit, Gutheit; goodness'
48. MHG *lust,* str. masc., 'die Lust'
49. MHG *billîche,* adv., 'von Rechts wegen; justly'
50. MHG *prîsen,* wk., 'preisen'
51. cf. MHG *erhœhen* 'erhöhen; to elevate'; cf. Letter IV, Note 34, for *-cht*
52. The refl. pron. of the 3. pers. sgl. (and plural; NHG *sich*) was expressed by the personal pron. (i. e., *ihn, ihm*) as late as the middle of the 18th century; here: 'sich'

Garten ſegnen/mit ſeinem himliſchen vnd Gnädigen Segen/auff das er fruchtbar werdt mit allem[53] guetten werckhen/welcher Gartten iſt die Gmain des Lebentigen gotes/Gott wöll auch diſen Gartten vmbZeünen vnd vermauren[54]/behüeten vnd beſchirmen vor allem wilden thieren/Er wöll in auch behüeten vor allem Böſen vngewitter vnnd vor dem Böſen miltaw̃[55]/auf das die frucht zeitig werde/Denn Jetzund blüet der Luſtgarten des herren/Gott wöll ſelbs hüeten vnd wachen/[178r][78] vber diſem Gartten/Auff das die frucht zeitig wol Reiff/ganntz vnd Gar ſüeß vnnd volkomen werde/

Weitter thue ich zu Kundt/vnnd zu wiſſen/das wir nit mer haimlich oder verborgen ſein hie[56]/ſonnder die gotloſen menſchen wiſſen vns faſt[4] feindtlich/vnnd iſt ein Groß Geſchraÿ von vns/Dañ die Gottloſen diebiſchen pfaffen/die wachter vnd boten des teufels/die Grauſamen hell hundt/die ſchreÿen ſchon auf den Cantzeln/von vns/vnd warnen dz volckh vnnd ſagen wir ſein im Landt vnd auf den Bergen/Vnnd gebieten zue Iren verfluechten
mat 5. [178v] Gottes diennſt Gŏtzen/vnd Sacrament/zu Gehen/ Dan die heillig ſtatt/die auf dem heilligen berg Sion iſt gebaut/mag nit verborgen ſein/vnnd das Liecht ſcheinet vnnd Leüchtet/vnd iſt nit verdeckht/Sonnder Brinnet[46] vnd Leüchtet hell/wie ein Liecht miten in der finſternus das ſind die Kind[er$_{10}$] des Lebentigen Gottes/Dann Gott ſein Liecht in inen angeZündt[57]/Denn es iſt nichts haimlichs oder verborgens/ das man nit wiſſen werdt/oder das es nit geoffenbaret werdt/wie Chriſtus ſagt/ Sie droen auch mit Richter ſcherg[en$_1$] vnnd henckher/das Gottloſſs Sodomittiſch Meer/Tobt vnnd [179r] wüet/Vnnd hebt an zu Rern[58] pullen[59]/Ich förcht wol es wirt kain Rue haben/oder aufhörē/ bis der frumb Jonnas hinein geworffen werd/Bis in der Grauſam Leuiathan oder walfiſch nach dem fleiſch verſchlückht/welcher iſt der Grauſam Türañ/vnnd feindt der warhait/Ferdinanndus mit allen ſeinen[15] anhang/vnnd der verfluecht Babſt[60] mit ſeinen verfluechten hellhunden/Aber Gott wirt diſem Meer gebieten/die ſeini-

53. thus in the MS
54. MHG *vermûren* 'mit einer Mauer umgeben; to inclose with a wall *or* stone fence
55. MHG *miltou* 'Meltau; mildew, blight'
56. above *ſein* ss. m$_1$ *b*, above *hie* ss. m$_1$ *a*: *hie ſein*
57. prefix *an-* ss. m$_1$
58. MHG *rêren* 'brüllen; to roar'
59. MHG *bullen* 'heulen; to howl'
60. MHG *bâbst* 'Papst; pope'

gen wider zugebẽ/vnnd ſie werden aus dem Bauch der erden/Vnnd von dem gwalt[61] der Gottloſen menſchen widervmb erlöſt vnd erledigt werden/[179v] mit dem fromen Jona/vnd werden aufferſtehn mit Chriſto[62] Jeſu mit groſſer krafft vnd herrligkait/das Geb Got vnd helf vnns Allen/

Hertzlieben Brüeder vnd ſchweſtern wir warten[63] nur täglich alle ſtundt vnd augenblickh der Richter ſchergen vnd Henckhers Knecht /vnnd aller trüebſal/wir haben vns auch dohin[11] gericht vnd ergeben /vnd ſetzen vns nit And[er$_{10}$]s für[64]/Der Herr Geb vns Krafft vnnd ſterckh Lieb/glauben vnd beſtändigkait/In ſeiner göttlichen warhait zu bleiben/zuuerharrẽ bis an vnnſer endt/die warheit zu bekennen vnd darfür zu ſtre-[180r]-iten bis in vnnſern todt/Wir wolten euch Je vnd allen fromen gern vrſach/ein Guetts Exempel vnnd Beÿſpil geben/vnnd hinder vnns laſſen/Gott dem herren zu diennen vnd nach zu folgen ſeinem wort/einen Gueten ſpiegl der Redligkait vñ frümbkait[47] vnnd ein Guets Lob der manligkait/wolten wir allen menſchen gern geben/Vnnd hinder vnns Laſſen/In allen dingen dohin[11] Ringen/ſtreiten/vnnd Arbeiten wir auch/Gott wölle ſolches fürnemen vnd begeren/In vnns erſtaten erfüllen vnd volfüeren/bis ans end vollenden/durch Jeſum Chriſtum

[180v] Weitter hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/Laſſe ich euch auch wiſſen/das der Herr noch täglich herZue thuet/zu ſeiner heilligen Chriſtlichen Gmain/die do ſälig werden/vnnd die Erndt iſt vaſt[4] ſeer[65] reiff/vnnd die Arbait Groß/Aber d[er$_{10}$] fromen treuen Arbaiter ſein wenig/Darumb dann wol von nötten iſt/wie Chriſtus ſagt den herren der ernden mit dem allerhöchſten fleiß vmb Arbaiter zu bitten/vnnd anZurüeffen/in ſeinem weinberg/Vil von denen die man vnns geſagt hat/die Guet hertzig ſein/vnnd die nach der warhait fragen/ꝛc/die Sein gar zu nichtig/vil aber von [181r] denen wir nichts gewiſt haben/werden offenbar vnnd fromb/vnnd Kumen herZue/es erweckht ein Kindt gottes das ander/vnnd wirt alſo ains durch das Annder geoffenbaret/vnd zu got Gebracht/Wir heten vil zu ſchaffen vnnd zu würckhen[66] Im herren/mit gſchwiſtrigeten mit denen die noch nach gott fragen/mit Kindern vnnd Inn Suma in

61. MHG *gewalt*, str. masc., 'die Gewalt'
62. the *o* is corrected from *j*
63. MHG *warten* w. genitive, 'warten auf; to be waiting for, expect'
64. EaNHG *sich fürsetzen* 'sich vornehmen'; here: erwarten; to expect'
65. *feer* ss. m_1
66. MHG *würken* 'wirken, arbeiten; to work'

allen dingen/Wir Künnen es aber nit alles ausrichten auf einmal/es mueß etlichs nach gehn/Aber ſo vil es an vns Iſt/wöllẽ wir vnnſern fleiß nit ſparen es wäre not das wir an allen [181v] orten wären hin vnd wider/die not vnnd die Groß Arbait[67] ligt ſchwärlich auff vns/ Darumb hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/Ich hiete[68] euch gern mer geſchriben/Ich habe Aber nit weil/vnnd thue euch in groſſer eill das zu kundt/das Jetzt geſchriben Iſt/Darumb hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/ Gedenckht vnnſer treulich vor Got in allen dingen/

Weitter Ir hertzlieben gſchwiſtriget/thue ich euch zu wiſſen/von wegen des Marthan Niders/vnd Chriſtel Bühlers/die von Got vnnd ſeinem volckh ausgeſchloſſen vnnd Abtrünig ſein/wie Ir wiſſet/ſie ſein heroben zu [182r] Stertzing[69]/vnd ſein Grauſame Gotloſe vnnd teüfelpänige[70] menſchen/Vnnd Greüliche Arge Bueben/Sie ſein zu Inſprugkh vor dem Regiment[71] geweſen/Vnnd alles was ſie wiſſen/das verratten vnnd Zaigen ſie an/vnd vil Grauſamer Lug vnnd vnwarheit haben ſie Geredt/vnd noch für vnnd für/Sie ſeind Gotſchennder/vnnd gotfleſterer der Göttlichen warhait/Vnnd Kinder des teufels/es wer von Iren Laſtern vnd ſünden die ſie thuen vil zu ſagen/Aber ich will den diennern weiter daruon ſchreib[en$_5$]/ aus vrſach/das Zaige ich euch ſolches darumben an aufs Kürtzeſt [182v] Sie haben im Sin in kurtzen tagen hinab zu Komen/vnnd ſie haben nichts Guets/Sonder eitl ſchalckhait im Sin/Vnnd ir fürnemen iſt ſeer Böß/vnnd die Gottloſen wöllen ſie auch zum tail ſchickhen/ So Glaubt vnnd vertraut in[72] nicht/Hüetend[5] euch vnnd ſecht[73] euch wol vor inẽ für/Dann ſie werden Komen als die Dieb vnnd mörder/ die zu Raube[n$_5$] ſtelen/betrüegen/vnd zu mördẽ geſchickht ſein/ darumb hüettend euch/

Zum Letſten vnd zum beſchluſs befilhe[74] ich euch Gott dem allmechtigen vnnſer[75] ſeinen Gwaltigẽ ſchutz vnnd ſchirm/vnnd dem wo-[183r]-rt ſeiner Gnaden/der tröſt vnd ſterckh euch/vnnd ſtee euch

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67. MHG *arbeit* 'Mühe, Mühsal, freiwillig übernommene Not; trouble, painstaking, toil'

68. a frequent Bavarian verbal form of the indicative and subjunctive; 'hätte; should (would) have'

69. Sterzing in Tirol, in the district of Brixen, on the Eisack and Brenner Rivers

70. EaNHG *teufelbännig* 'im Banne des Teufels befindlich, verteufelt; devilish'

71. EaNHG; 'Regierung; government'

72. in = in'n = inen = ihnen

73. *fecht* = seht; cf. Letter IV, Note 34

74. The Bavarian-Austrian dialects do not use the vowel breaking in the 1. pers. sgl. pres. indic.; *ich befilhe* = *befehle*

75. instead of *vnnder* [?]

Beÿ/Inn allen dingen/vnd ſej mit euch/durch vnnſern herren Jeſum Chriſtum hie vnnd dort Imer vnnd Ewigklich Amen

Ir hertzallerliebſten Kindlen des Lebentigen gottes/Alle heilligen vnnd Kindlen Gotes/die hie ſein/Die gantz Gmain Gotes/Laſſen euch all mit ainand[er$_{10}$] gar treulich vnnd Gar fleiſſig von gantzem Abgrundt Ires hertzens Grüeſſen In Gŏtlicher feuriger/Brüederlicher vnd Chriſtlicher Lieb zu vil tauſent mal/mit dem frid des herren vnnd [183v] mit dem Heilligen Kuß Jeſu Chriſtÿ/vnnd ſie verlangt treulich nach euch/vnnd wolten euer Angeſicht gern ſehen in der Liebe Gottes/Vnnd ich Jacob euer dienner vnd Apoſtel/Vnnd euer Getreuer Lieber Brueder vnnd freundt in dem herren/Als ich Acht vnnd main/Ich ſej euch Lieb/Ich grüeß euch auch mit meiner Aignen hanndt/Inn Gŏttlicher heilliger vngefelſchter vnnd Brüederlicher Lieb/zuuil hundert tauſent mal/Ain Jedes in ſond[er$_{10}$]-hait mit dem Gerechten Kuß Jeſu Chriſti/Vnnd ich vmbfach[76] euch mit den Armen hertzen vnd gmüet/Ja ich grüeß euch auch für [184r] vnnd für on vnderlaß durch gottes Lieb vnnd Geiſt/Der Herr vnnd Gottes fridt/Lieb vnd geiſt/vnnd mein ſeel geiſt vnnd Hertz/ſej allZeit mit euch ewigklich/durch Jeſum Chriſtum Amen.

Geſchriben aus der
Graffſchafft Tirol
durch wŏlflen Zimer-
man. Anno .1.5.3.5.

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76. MHG *umbevâhen* 'umfangen; to embrace'; cf. Letter IV, Note 34

77. *Liebe* is struck out after *Göttliche*

78. The folio number [177] is omitted in the pagination in the MS. There is no interruption in the text.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference. By JOHN C. WENGER. Telford, Pennsylvania: The Franconia Mennonite Historical Society. 1937. Pp. xvi, 523. $2.25.

A long-felt need in American Mennonite historiography is a complete series of local histories. Happily this need is gradually being met. In 1931 M. G. Weaver published his *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* and Harry F. Weber the *Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829-1929.* The next to appear was L. J. Burkholder's *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* in 1935, followed in 1937 by the book reviewed here. In 1938 appeared Ferdinand P. Schultz, *The Settlement of German Mennonites from Russia at Mountain Lake, Minnesota.* The most recent local history to appear is Melvin Gingerich's *The Mennonites in Iowa,* 1939, reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Dr. Wenger's excellent treatise is a history of the oldest Mennonite conference in America. Books I and IV give a bird's-eye view of the growth of the church in eastern Pennsylvania from its beginnings in 1683 to the time of writing. The chapter on home life and religious practise contains a wealth of interesting material, treating a variety of matters such as the history of costume, customs of naming children, church furniture, and the practise of lining hymns in the worship service. The chapter on the semi-annual conference is an enlightening treatment of the growth of church government; it includes a list of the outstanding conference regulations since 1880. The chapter on the Franconia Mennonites and military service traces the war experiences of these nonresistant people from the French and Indian War through the World War. The story of the latter war is well told, including a detailed list of conscientious objectors. The chapter on Christopher Dock emphasizes the great debt of the church to this pioneer educator whose modesty caused him to be glad when the manuscript of his now famous *Schulordnung* was temporarily lost, putting it out of the printer's reach after Dock himself had reluctantly consented to its publication.

Dr. Wenger's book is in many ways a study in contrasts, in that the Franconia Mennonites who in the eighteenth century gave us Christopher Dock and the first systematic treatise on education in America, as well as the Ephrata *Martyrs Mirror,* a remarkable undertaking in printing for its time, and who have today a well organized mission board, a modern home for the aged and a well organized system of mutual aid, should nevertheless have many congregations without well-established young people's meetings as late as 1937, as well as some meetinghouses unequipped with lights for evening services and certain congregations where revival meetings may not be conducted.

The Franconia Mennonites have also had their internal dissensions and schisms. The most noteworthy of these were those led by Christian Funk in 1777 and by John H. Oberholtzer in 1847. The issue in the former case was the attitude of the church toward the American revolution. Funk with a few followers was ready to support the revolutionary government, but the church regarded this an act of rebellion against constituted authority.

The story of the Oberholtzer schism is well told, the issues at stake being the clerical garb, the keeping of conference minutes, and the adoption of Oberholtzer's constitution, the latter being rejected in part because it was an innovation, and in part because some of its contents were regarded as liberal.

Book II is a detailed history of thirty-six individual congregations with specific references to congregational organization, ordinations, etc. Book III is a ministerial list giving brief biographical sketches of all ordained men, 365 in number, from the beginning to 1936, arranged alphabetically. At the close of the discussion of the Oberholtzer schism there is a similar list, 116 names in all, of ministers in what is now the eastern district conference of the General Conference of Mennonites of North America. An appendix contains a number of valuable documents, including letters, confessions of faith, and rules and disciplines, as well as the Germantown anti-slavery protest of 1688, and the declaration of the Mennonites to the colonial assembly on the question of war and peace in 1775. There are numerous illustrations and an elaborate index.

Dr. Wenger's book is encyclopedic in character and constitutes a mine of information, a ready reference for the finding of any fact having to do with the Franconia Mennonites. If any criticisms were to be offered they must be directed not to the accuracy, reliability or completeness of the contents, but rather to the arrangement of the material, the planning of the chapters and the slightly cumbersome phraseology in places. Perhaps more important is the fact that the wealth of detail at times obscures the essential interpretative treatment.

Goshen College — Guy F. Hershberger.

The Mennonites in Iowa. By MELVIN GINGERICH. Marking the one hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Mennonites to Iowa. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1939. Pp. 419. $3.00.

Earlier church histories were often a mere chronicle of ecclesiastical events and happenings. Happily, historians are manifesting an increasing tendency to go beyond these narrow confines to include the broad economic, social and cultural elements so necessary for an interpretative treatment which gives a true and complete picture of the life of the group under consideration. *The Mennonites in Iowa* was written with the conscious purpose of interpreting the Mennonites to readers who may not be acquainted with their life and culture. In doing so Dr. Gingerich has drawn upon all of the sources and given us a book which is a model for balance of treatment. Understanding not only what to include, but also what to omit, he has not only helped the uninformed to understand the Mennonites, but he has given the Mennonites the kind of book best suited to help them understand themselves.

The earlier chapters treat the European background, including the Amish schism which contributed so largely to the Mennonite population in Iowa, followed by the story of the coming to America and the westward migration through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to Iowa. The series of chapters on the early settlements brings out the varied backgrounds, both European and American, of the different settlements and helps to explain the

differences which developed among them in the course of a century, so that now there is a variety of ecclesiastical groups ranging from the ultra-conservative Amish in Buchanan county to the liberal General Conference Mennonites in Henry, Lee and Davis counties. The reader cannot help being impressed with the personality of Jacob Swartzendruber, the first bishop of the Johnson county Amish, who came to Iowa in 1851 and served the church until his death in 1868. Leaving his home in Maryland because of what he regarded low moral standards among his people, he came to Iowa and led out in a vigorous movement for higher standards which no doubt helps to explain the fact that the Iowa Old Order Amish are among the most progressive and of the highest type which can be found in America today.

The chapters on church and state, church discipline, ecclesiastical organization, church services, support of missions, agriculture, economic cooperation, marriage and family life, social customs, schools and education, music and art, language and literature, folklore, dress, equipment and habits, give an excellent picture of life as it is lived in typical Mennonite and Amish communities. The later chapters treat the more recent development of the various Iowa communities, and bring the story down to date.

The publishers are to be congratulated for a splendid job of printing. Set in twelve point Garamond type, printed on Alexandra paper, and bound in a gold stamped blue cloth, this book is a work of art. There is an appendix containing the Dortrecht confession of faith, also an index. All chapters have brief suggestive titles which make them exceptionally inviting. Criticism can be directed only to minor details. Unfortunately the footnotes were not placed at the bottom of each page, but gathered inconveniently in the back of the book. The author has an excellent style, yet at times the reader has difficulty in following him as the discussion shifts from one kind of Mennonite or Amishman to another. To the reader interested in the local history of a particular congregation, the treatment of details is sometimes inadequate. This could have been overcome by the inclusion of an appendix containing a ministerial list with brief biographical sketches and a chronological table of events for each congregation.

Goshen College — Guy F. Hershberger.

Rosanna of the Amish. By Joseph W. Yoder. Huntingdon, Pennsylvania: Yoder Publishing Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 319. Illustrated. $2.00.

Amish readers of such books as *Straw in the Wind*[1] have felt for a number of years that the reading public needed a book that would tell the truth about the Amish with reverence and sympathy. Such a book is *Rosanna of the Amish,* and the author, J. W. Yoder, is peculiarly fitted to write it. Born of Amish parents and reared in an Amish community in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, he has not only the necessary information and experience but also the requisite appreciation and understanding of the Amish background and heritage.

1. Ruth Lininger Dobson's, *Straw in the Wind,* written in 1937 and professing to portray the Old Order Amish in the vicinity of Middlebury, Indiana, contains very little that is distinctly or correctly Amish. It is an unsympathetic caricature distorting Amish characteristics in such a way as to make their virtues appear ridiculous, even malevolent and satanic. The book is now out of print.

Although thoroughly Amish in his early training the author of *Rosanna of the Amish* does not have the typical Amish background. It is exceptional to find an Amishman who is not a full-blooded German or Swiss German. Joseph W. Yoder is such an exception. His mother, an Irish-Catholic orphan girl, was left at nine days of age in the care of an Amish maiden lady who reared her tiny charge in an Amish community, imbued her with Amish principles of life and culture, saw her voluntarily choose to unite with the Amish church, saw her baptized into the Amish faith, saw her married to a young Amishman, and finally, saw her rear an Amish family. This orphan girl, Rosanna, youngest daughter of the Irish Catholic immigrants, Pat McGonegal and Bridget O'Connor, was the author's mother. And *Rosanna of the Amish* is her life story.

In writing his book the author has done an unusual piece of work. He makes no attempt to write historical fiction. The book is true, not only in the major outlines of the story and in its general spirit and viewpoint, but also in its historical and biographical data. In his preface the author states that he knew "personally every principal character in the book except Simeon Riehl, whose name is fictitious." The book, therefore, not only is not fiction in any commonly accepted definition of that term, but it is actual biography and history, and in its closing pages it becomes autobiography where the author in speaking of himself frankly calls himself Joseph.

The author's method has distinct advantages. Many of his relatives and friends concerning whom he writes are still living. It is necessary, therefore, that he tell the truth about them. Through the use of this method he gains accuracy and a certain personal touch which would be lacking even in the most faithful presentation of historical fiction. The method seems, however, to have one disadvantage. It prevents the author from entire frankness in the presentation of unpleasant details. These he refuses to gloss over. He simply omits them. This is illustrated in the case of Simeon Riehl. In order to make this handbook of Amish life and culture complete in every detail the author must include at least one instance of an excommunication in the Amish church. To spare the feelings of some friend or acquaintance, he invents the name "Simeon Riehl." This is the only character in the book concerning whom the author divulges anything unpleasant. His affection and respect for his Amish friends and neighbors restrain him from probing beneath the surface to bring to light the ugly aspects of human experience present, occasionally, even in an Amish Utopia.

But aside from this one criticism that the book cannot be entirely true to fact because it omits everything that is unpleasant or everything that might be interpreted as derogatory to the Amish character, the work deserves great praise. In its presentation of the Christian character of the Amishman, his kindness and hospitality, his openhanded entertainment of the stranger or wanderer, his industry, his energy, his proverbial good health, his deep devotion to his religion, his implicit faith in God, his affection for his wife and children, his freedom from worry and care, his conviction that in this world he is a stranger and pilgrim on his way to the Heavenly City—in all these, the book is not only faithful in its portrayal but is enthusiastically and sympathetically so. The writer of *Straw in the Wind* saw only the sterner side of the Amish character and beheld in their physical labor only grinding toil instead of what Yoder presents as a glowing satisfaction in work well done.

Yoder emphasizes the ability of both men and women to perform strenuous physical labor. When Rosanna's brother, William, visited her

> he marveled at how much she did and how little it seemed to tire her. She milked the cows, carried large buckets of milk, worked in the garden, carried milk to the pigs, fed the chickens and gathered the eggs, washed, ironed, baked, and even helped in the harvest field sometimes. When he asked Rosanna whether she did not get tired, she laughed and said, "Oh, a little sometimes, but when one does this kind of work all the time you get used to it and you don't mind it."

The author catches the Amish attitude toward work also in the words:

> girls serving as house maids were not looked down on in any way among the Amish, but were on the same level socially as the rest of the family. It was even considered a mark of fine accomplishment to be able to step into a home and do any kind of work rapidly and well. Rosanna had never forgotten her great childhood desire to be smart, and now that she was becoming a young woman she enjoyed the reputation of being a good worker,—a great satisfaction to her.

Elizabeth Yoder early had inculcated in Rosanna the desire to be smart. In this word "smart" the author gives a literal rendering of a Pennsylvania-German word signifying a combination of keen common sense and the ability to perform a physical or manual task with a maximum of neatness, precision, and swiftness.

Related to this idea is the Amishman's pride in his economic self-sufficiency, his ability to manufacture many of the ordinary articles of food, clothing and farm equipment for his own use, thus turning his native ingenuity and manual skill and his leisure time into added income by overcoming the necessity of buying "store" articles. Yoder correctly portrays the Amishman as skilled in animal husbandry, soil conservation and crop feeding, and in farm management. He succeeds as a farmer because he has fine intelligence, simple, inexpensive tastes, simple joys, and a huge capacity for hard work.

The author catches another phase of the Amish character, one which is often overlooked. However staid and quiet, even bashful, the Amishman may seem to the casual observer, in his home life and in his social relationships he is joyous and happy and usually fond of a good joke. Few books radiate this spirit of happiness, of joy, more than does *Rosanna of the Amish.* Over and over again the author returns to this trait. Nearly every page contains some form of the word *joy* or *happiness* or *contentment* or at least implies that sentiment in some way. "The years sped joyously on." "When the Bishop looked at Cristal's shiny carriage and prancing horses, he said good-naturedly 'Be a little careful, Cristal, this looks pretty high toned.' Cristal laughed and replied, 'Well, a carriage has to be new once, you know.' " "Year after year followed pleasantly till Rosanna was almost nine years old."

On one occasion Bishop Shem wished to borrow $300 for six months. When he offered to give a note the lender said, "Bishop Yoder, I do not want your note; your word is just as good as your bond to me; pay me back whenever you are ready. I have learned that you Amish men who wear hooks and eyes on your clothes never borrow more than you can pay back, and when you say you will pay it, you never fail to keep your word." These words made the Bishop and his wife very happy. It was on a day when Rosanna and her foster-parents had driven to Lewistown. Rosanna had bought material for her wedding dress and had told her parents for the first time that she was planning to marry Little Crist. The concluding sentence

in the chapter is: "On the way home the white top carriage could hardly carry its load of happiness that day."

The author also presents the Amish eagerness to do right and his feeling that it is important to conduct himself in such a way that he will have the approval of his relatives or fellow church members. On the occasion of Rosanna's attendance at her first singing, she came to her mother after the company had left, slipped her arm around her mother's shoulder and said, "Hav Ich mich recht ag'schickt" (Did I behave right?). Part of Rosanna's happiness in her marriage was the consciousness that she had married into a good family.

> As Rosanna looked about the large well-furnished house, the well-spread table, and the signs of plenty everywhere, she could not help but have a deep feeling of satisfaction that she had been privileged to cast her lot with a family like that,—highly respected by everybody, in good standing in the church, comfortable in material things, and above all, happy and content in each other's presence.

In addition to its presentation of the Amish character and viewpoint the volume is a handbook of Amish customs.[2] Here are presented, with accuracy of detail, both the social customs and the religious customs of the group. Beginning with joining church and the period of instruction, the book faithfully presents the method of performing the ordinances of Baptism, Communion, and Feet Washing, all the details connected with the courtship, the proposal for marriage, the duty of the groom to invite the wedding guests, the wedding dinner, the marriage service at a neighbor's house, the wedding service itself, and the afternoon and evening festivities—all these are presented with remarkable fidelity. The same is true of the simple burial that requires neither undertaker nor funeral home nor commercial casket manufacturer. If one wished to be critical, he might point out a slight error on page 121 where the author speaks of "The bread . . . blessed by prayer. The wine is blessed in the same way." This is certainly an oversight because the prayer uttered by the Bishop on this occasion is simply a prayer of thanks and not in any sense a blessing of the emblems, the home-baked bread and the home-manufactured, fermented wine, used in the communion service.

Readers will appreciate the inclusion of the two Amish hymn tunes, on pages 112 and 115. These are the same tunes which Professor J. W. Yoder, the author of *Rosanna,* transcribed for use in Dr. C. Henry Smith's, *The Mennonites of America,* in 1909. They seem to have been the first Amish tunes notated in America. Professor Yoder wrote these notations from hearing the hymns sung in the Amish services. Amish tunes, as the Amish sing them, have never been written or printed but are handed down from generation to generation as the popular ballads were.[3]

Perhaps a word about the illustrations by the artist, George Daubenspeck, might be in order. Here again, if one wished to be critical, he might find

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2. The reader might be interested in several articles on the Amish in earlier issues of the REVIEW: "The Amish Mennonites of Union County, Pennsylvania," Vol. VII (April and July, 1933), pp. 71-96 and pp. 162-190; "Amish Ordination Charges," in Vol. XIII (October, 1939), pp. 233-250; "Amish Service Manuals," in Vol. XV (January, 1941), pp. 26-32; and "An Amish Minister's Manual," in this issue.

3. For a more complete discussion of these tunes see "The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn Tunes," in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore,* LII, No. 203 (January-March, 1939), 82-95. This article contains several recent transcriptions of Amish hymn tunes by Walter E. Yoder, professor of music at Goshen College.

minor faults. It is rather disconcerting to find Elizabeth left-handed in the illustration on page 34, the wire fence on page 93 is certainly an anachronism, and an Amish farmer might question the artist's drawing of the "check lines" on page 38. The fourteen illustrations, however, do give the reader real information and contribute to his understanding and appreciation of the Amish. The expression of calm benignity on the face of the Bishop on page 222, and the energetic walk of father and son on page 230 are faithful to the Amish character. The fidelity of landscape on the jacket and on the end sheets, as well as on pages 50 and 220, and the drawings of the farm buildings add materially to the value of the work.

An aged, unlearned reader in a western state paid the book a higher tribute than he knew when he said with feeling, "It is all so true to life that it makes me homesick for Pennsylvania." No doubt the growing circle of readers who purchased the entire first edition of *Rosanna of the Amish* during the first few weeks after publication agree with him. The second edition is vanishing from book sellers' shelves as if by magic.

Goshen College John Umble.

Henner's Lydia. By MARGUERITE DE ANGELI. New York: Doubleday Doran and Co. 1936. $2.00.

Skippack School. By MARGUERITE DE ANGELI. New York: Doubleday Doran and Co. 1939. $2.00.

The same year in which Dobson's *Straw in the Wind* appeared with its unpleasant and warped portrayal of Amish culture, there came to the America reading public, by way of the children's bookshelves, a beautiful "homey" story of the Lancaster County Amish called *Henner's Lydia,* written and illustrated by Marguerite de Angeli. A librarian in a public library located near the scene of *Straw in the Wind* voiced the sentiment of many readers when she said: "I am glad for this lovely illustrated story of the Amish people. It is much fairer to them than is *Straw in the Wind.*"

Mrs. de Angeli in *Henner's Lydia* has been able to help both the children and the grownups in our country to know Amish children first of all as happy, natural children who play and work and go to school just as any children would, and whose parents love them just as affectionately as any other parents love their children. She then skillfully and sympathetically portrays their characteristic differences with such fine insight as to make their manner of life attractive and meaningful rather than ridiculous or mirth-provoking to the reader or observer who is a stranger to Amish ways.

The author attempts even to correct one current misconception when she tells how little Yonie was afraid to take a short cut through a certain man's pasture on the way home from school for fear he would "verhex" the children.

"Oh, now come," said Lydia, climbing over the fence, "you know what Mom says." Yonie followed her over the fence into Nathan Straub's pasture. Yonie kept close to Lydia and Lydia looked straight ahead, when they went past Nate's red barn.

The barn has round signs painted on the sides and on the ends. Nate's Johnny says they are "witch" signs to keep evil spirits away from the cattle. Of course there are no signs on Amish barns.

Mom laughs and says, "Keep clear of strangers, but there's no such thing as a *witch,* anyway."

But—*one* time, *Nate's cows all died!* Pop said, "Nate just didn't keep his barns clean. He's a *shussle.*" (That means he's careless.)

The Amish grownups are portrayed as sympathetically as the children are. There is Pop who says, "People who don't finish things don't amount to much." (Early in the summer when Lydia had started a hooked rug, Pop had promised that she could go with him to Lancaster to market as soon as it was finished. The story centers about Lydia's efforts to finish this rug.) Pop's beard and broad-brimmed hat do not keep him from knowing how to tuck a sleepy little girl in bed or give her a quarter for being "a smart helper." The fine understanding which both Pop and Mom show for their children makes the story most delightful. Lydia loves her mother's "crisp white lawn cap and the way she smiles over her glasses." Mom says, "Teach children how to work while they are small, then when they get big they like to work."

Granny lives with Cousin Becky in her own part of Henner's house, the frame part built on to the two-hundred-year-old stone house. Granny tells Lydia about her ancestors who, as the author explains, came across the Atlantic Ocean "just as the Pilgrims did, because they wanted freedom to worship God in their own way." Granny recounts how the people "decided to dress very plainly and keep themselves away from worldly things, to help each other in every way, and to be always peaceful."

The children also are fond of the old Bishop who always carries "pocket candy" for the "kinder," sometimes candy hearts with printing, and this kind Lydia likes best of all; but the Bishop never seems to notice the printing.

Not only is the story of Henner's Lydia well told, but it is excellently illustrated with original lithographs in four colors by the author. The reader sees the beautiful old painted chest of Granny's, the big four-poster bed where Lydia and Nancy slept, the busy quilters with their nimble fingers, lunch time at school, Lavinia making applebutter in the enormous kettle, the well-filled cellar shelves, the springhouse, Henner's stall at market, the "store" dinner which Lydia ate in Lancaster, Ed Hertzler's mill, and bedtime after the busy exciting day when Lydia made her first trip to Lancaster.

Although the author has introduced some names which are not typically Amish and has not always made literal translations from the Pennsylvania Dutch, such items do not mar the total effect of this truly beautiful and well-executed picture-story book of an interesting people and their sturdy virtues.

In 1939 another book of Mrs. de Angeli's appeared picturing the "plain" people, this time the Mennonites who lived near Germantown and Skippack in Pennsylvania around the year 1750 and who sent their children to school to one Christopher Dock. The old story of that fine-spirited, keen-minded first Mennonite schoolmaster in America is vividly retold and beautifully illustrated by Mrs. de Angeli in *Skippack School.* Among the many fine illustrations in color and in black and white there are reproductions of "Fractur-Schriften," picture writing or illuminated script, such as the master used to give the children as awards to help them do their best. The strength of character and the gracious kindliness, which the artist succeeds in putting into the faces of the schoolmaster and his friends, are more eloquent than many words in conveying to the reader the sincere spirit which motivated these early settlers to be honest, industrious, Christian citizens of their be-

loved new land. Mrs. de Angeli's drawings and stories would seem to have performed a genuine service to a people so commonly misinterpreted, because of her discernment of their basic philosophy of life and her convincing presentation of it to a reading public which heretofore knew them largely through such narrowly conceived and prejudiced stories as *Tillie, the Mennonite Maid* and similar books.

In *Skippack School* the author also does what no Mennonite writer has accomplished so far, and that is to give to the public the treasured story of the pioneer Mennonite schoolmaster, Christopher Dock, who is credited with having been the first in America to write a book on pedagogy and whose earnestness in his profession has been an inspiration to many a Mennonite schoolteacher throughout the succeeding years.

When the story opens, Eli Shrawder and his parents have but recently come to America with many other families "to find new homes where they could worship God in their own way." Eli was an energetic little boy who loved to chase squirrels and go fishing in the wilderness around his new home. He was also busy carving a bench for Mom like the one she had to leave behind in her old home. He hoped Mom would forget about school until he had finished the bench, but Mom had said, "Now to school you must go."

> He dragged his feet through cool leaves and grass, looked up through the tall trees and wished he could stay at home, even if it meant working in the fields, chopping wood for Mom; yes, even if it meant minding the baby in her cradle! *Any*thing would be better than going to this new school! "Probably," he thought, "the schoolmaster will be ugly and cross."

In telling how the schoolmaster won the heart of the boy Eli, the author reveals in an exquisite and historically accurate way the character of Christopher Dock as we know him. When Eli returns to school one afternoon for his forgotten lunch basket and finds the master on his knees praying aloud for the boy, the reader with Eli feels something rise up in his throat and almost choke him.

The story of this little eighteenth century boy and his schoolteacher has a strong appeal today not only for children but also for adult readers because of its simple, sincere, and unaffected portrayal in word and picture of a godly schoolmaster whose teaching must be ranked high by every modern rating scale because he was a master not only of the three R's but of the more difficult matter of human relationships.

It will be of interest to readers to know that Mrs. de Angeli's latest book, *Thee, Hannah!*, published in 1940, is the story of a little Quaker girl in Philadelphia before the Civil War.

Goshen College Mary Royer.

Glimpses of Mennonite History. By JOHN C. WENGER. Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House. 1940. Pp. 126. Illustrated. 75 cents.

One summer day, in 1929, a group of American Mennonite tourists stood on a bridge over the Limmat River in Zurich, Switzerland, looking down upon what was the probable scene of the martyrdom of Felix Manz. As they stood there gazing, the passers-by also peered over the edge of the

bridge to see what might be the attraction. Seeing nothing they gazed in bewilderment at the tourists. The city of Zurich, the cradle of the Anabaptist movement, has forgotten all about the moving events which took place there.

But there are many people who bear the name Mennonite and yet are in considerable ignorance of the facts of their history. Probably no church has a more interesting history than does the Mennonite church but, until within recent years, it might be said that few churches at least were so neglectful of that history. Within the last fifty years historical scholars, both within the church and without, have made available a very large amount of material concerning this history. The facts have been published in periodicals and even in books. Getting this knowledge into the common possession of our people, however, is quite another matter. There has been a great need for a book written in popular style and yet incorporating the most recent findings of Mennonite historical scholars.

This, it seems to me, is the purpose and the value of John C. Wenger's book, *Glimpses of Mennonite History*. It is not the result, to any considerable degree, of the historical research of its author. It is rather the presentation to the lay reader of the essential facts of Mennonite history. It is adapted to and should find large use in classes and discussion groups in Mennonite history in our church schools, special Bible terms, and young people's institutes. It is a book which should be in every Mennonite home and should also be of great value to libraries in these days when the war situation will raise frequent questions in the public mind as to who the Mennonites are. It does not profess to be an exhaustive history and should perhaps, on that account, be of use to those who want their information in small compass.

About half of the book is devoted to the European origin and development of the Mennonite church. Beginning with the necessary background of the Lutheran Reformation, there is an accurate account of the rise of the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland, the Rhine valley, and Holland. There is valuable information concerning the early leaders of this movement. The excesses, such as the Münsterite orgy, by which the Anabaptists are best known to the general public, are clearly repudiated as unrepresentative of the Anabaptist movement in general. The story of the persecutions of these people who, because of convictions derived from the Word of God, endured martyrdom in large numbers recounts a heroism of the first order.

The second half of the book is devoted to the Mennonites in America. There are accounts of the leaders, the institutions, the confessions of faith, the doctrines, the publications, and the schisms of the movement. Though the account is brief, all the essential factual material is here. The various branches of the church are accounted for, although the greater part of the treatment is devoted to the largest group, the (Old) Mennonites.

The style is easy—short sentences with a simple vocabulary. To help in the use of the book as a text, there are teaching aids such as additional readings in Mennonite publications, an objective test at the close of the book, and a rather extensive bibliography. Of great value are the pictures in the book, chiefly of leaders and of buildings. An adequate index makes the material easy to find. An appendix prints in full the Dordrecht Confession of Faith of 1632, which has always been considered the semi-official creed of the church of America.

A book of this type should be interesting reading. Your reviewer testifies that it is. It should also be authentic history. The scholarly training of its author is one guarantee of the accuracy of the book. Another is the fact pointed out in the preface, that the manuscript was read by John Horsch and H. S. Bender, leading Mennonite historians.

Goshen College Paul Erb.